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EDITORIAL

As this number appears, the National Assembly will probably be handing over the question of Prayer-Book Revision for discussion in its constituent houses. Since we last alluded to the subject, the situation has been changed and clarified by the publication by the Council of the English Church Union of amendments to the existing Revision proposals.* These amendments are of a very comprehensive character, and are introduced by a Preface which is at once scholarly and conciliatory. In the case of the Liturgy the amendments are accompanied by explanatory notes, and the service so amended is printed as a whole at the end of the book. We bespeak a careful and sympathetic study for this work. It has already rallied to itself the support of a large number of clergy who are dissatisfied with the present Prayer-Book; and there is little doubt that its authorization as an alternative would mark a great step forward towards order and peace. We hope that the question of Reservation will be settled on its merits, as set forth in our first article, and that it will be kept distinct from the highly disputed question of extra-liturgical devotions—of which more anon.

Those who desire to study the question of liturgical revision —and we have already heard of Study Circles being formed to this end—will find admirable help in a volume of the S.P.C.K. Translations of Christian Literature, entitled *Twenty-five Consecration Prayers*, with Notes and Introduction, by Arthur Linton (7s. 6d. net). The Prayers fall into three groups, which the editor classifies as Antiochene, Alexandrian, and Western (including English and Scottish). These examples of ancient liturgical worship repay detailed tabulation on the lines indicated in the Introduction; and such a process will show alike the unity of doctrine and principle underlying the diversities

* *Report of the Committee on Prayer Book Revision.* E.C.U. Office. 1s. net.

and also the extent to which national or ethnical peculiarities have made themselves felt.

By the death at the turn of the year of Dr. James Cooper, Emeritus Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Glasgow, the whole Christian Church has suffered a great loss. In England he is best known by his little book entitled *Reunion: A Voice from Scotland*, published in 1918, in which he advocated recourse to "the precedents of 1610" as the best means of recovering Catholic unity in Scotland. These two addresses showed clearly Dr. Cooper's passionate faith in the Church as the Body of Christ, his shame at its present divided state, and his keen vision of the Church made one again. But he was more than an apostle of Reunion: he was a great spiritual force in his generation. In a letter to the writer of these notes, who had the privilege of his friendship, dated June 4, 1919, he says:

"In the last days of June I go to Iona to conduct a retreat for some young ministers, of whom I had no idea how far they had advanced in the Catholic direction. . . . The Bishop of Argyll and the Isles has lent us the rooms built by the Cowley Fathers, though we are to have our Daily Celebration in the Cathedral which the "Iona Trustees" at Edinburgh have put at our disposal for the purpose—an advance on *their* part of no small significance."

No one did more than Dr. Cooper for the recovery of the devotional life of the Church, symbolized in frequent communion and in habits of retreat; and he lived to see immense advance made. Professor Baxter, whose Inaugural Lecture we publish this month, is only one of many scholars whom Dr. Cooper inspired with his ideals; and we cannot doubt that the seed he sowed with such devotion will bear fruit more and more abundantly as the years pass.

We cannot close these notes without allusion to yet another friend who has passed from us. Gerald Christopher Rawlinson was one who showed in every moment of his suffering days the unconquerable beauty of the Catholic life. He had the insight, the devotion, the vital humour that one associates with St. Francis de Sales, and, indeed, he did much work on the lines of that master among spiritual directors. THEOLOGY owes him a very special debt; because he was the writer of the notices in the *Church Times* which have introduced this journal to an ever-increasing number of readers. He also contributed articles from time to time on recent French religious literature, with which he was intimately conversant. His friends who mourn him will yet rejoice that his pain and weariness are over, and that he has entered into rest.

RESERVATION OF THE EUCHARIST

I

In order that we may consider the canonical position of the question of Reservation of the eucharistic elements, it is necessary shortly to recapitulate the evidence for the antiquity and universality of the custom. In the second century, as we learn from Justin Martyr, the eucharist was carried by the deacons to the absent; and the Reservation was in both kinds, as the Greek shows.* The Ancient Church Orders testify to the practice of Reservation.† And we frequently read in the literature of the third and fourth centuries that the laity themselves reserved the consecrated elements for communion on days when there was no public eucharist.‡ The evidence as to the method of Reservation is not quite clear. Gregory of Nazianzus probably,§ and Jerome certainly,‖ speak of the Reservation being in both kinds, and Gregory the Great¶ says that travellers by sea had with them the body and blood of the Redeemer. But Tertullian,** Cyprian,†† and Dionysius of Alexandria‡‡ seem to say that the Reservation was in one kind only, or perhaps by an intincted host. The custom probably varied;§§ and at any rate, the Reservation by private individuals seems to have dropped out at a comparatively early date. It should be added that celebrations in private houses are not infrequently mentioned in ancient books.‖‖

Coming to later times, we find that the Orthodox Easterns commonly reserve the sacrament for the sick by means of intinction. The consecrated bread after intinction is dried, and a portion is put into a spoonful of unconsecrated wine and administered to the sick person.¶¶ It is not known how long

* *Apol.*, i. 65: [The deacons] *διδόασιν ἑκάστῳ τῶν παρόντων μεταλαβεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐχαριστηθέντος ἄρτου καὶ οἴνου καὶ ὕδατος, καὶ τοῖς οὐ παροῦσιν ἀποφέρουσι* (not "carry away a portion" as in the translation of the Ante-Nicene (Christian Library).

† See the present writer's *Ancient Church Orders* (Cambridge, 1910), p. 57.

‡ *E.g.*, Tertullian, *ad Uxor.*, ii. 5; Ambrose, *Orat. de excessu fratris Satyri*, i. 43; Basil, *Ep.* xciii. ad Cæsariam.

§ *Orat.*, viii. 18 (Gorgonia; but note that Gregory says "the precious body *or* blood," not "and," as usually quoted). On the story of Gorgonia and its bearing on Reservation, see W. H. Freestone, *The Sacrament Reserved*, p. 256; D. Stone, *The Reserved Sacrament*, p. 60; H. Thurston in *Journ. of Theol. Studies*, xi., 275; F. Chase in *Ch. Quart. Review*, lxxxvi. 19.

‖ *Ep.* cxxv. 20 ad Rust. ("carrying the Lord's body in a wicker basket, His blood in a vessel of glass").

¶ *Dial.*, iii. 36. ** *de Orat.*, 19. †† *de Lapsis*, 26. ‡‡ In Eusebius, *HE*, vi. 48.

§§ See the present writer's *Recent Discoveries illustrating Early Christian Life and Worship* (Second Edition, London, 1915), pp. ix., 36 *f.*; W. E. Scudamore, art. *Reservation of the Eucharist* in Smith-Cheetham's *Dict. Chr. Ant.*, ii. 1786, and *Notitia Eucharistica* (Second Edition, London, 1876), p. 1016 *ff.*

‖‖ Scudamore, *Not. Euch.*, p. 1026 *f.* ¶¶ *Ib.*, p. 1013.

this particular method has been adopted; but the custom of reserving for the sick seems to have gone on from ancient times. The Armenians also practise Reservation, apparently in the same way. I have myself seen an Armenian priest at a baptism in the East communicate the newly baptized infant with the reserved sacrament, or rather place "the holy particle" in contact with his tongue.* The literature of the East Syrians or Nestorians shows that the deacons brought the sacrament from a village where there was an eucharist to another where there was none;† but the *cautelæ missæ* (No. 19), published in the Syriac edition of the Takhsa or Missal, though not in the English translation, forbid Reservation till the next day on the curious ground that manna might not be reserved overnight by the Israelites. In practice, the East Syrians do not reserve the sacrament. With them, baptism *follows* the eucharist, apparently with a view to the priest communicating the neophyte with the newly consecrated elements; but there is not now, at least ordinarily, communion of the baptized immediately after baptism, though infant communion is the regular custom.‡

In the West, the practice of Reservation for the sick was so common up to the Reformation that it is unnecessary to enlarge on it. It is to be noticed that the sick were communicated in both kinds up to a comparatively late period; in some places, at least, till the thirteenth century. Some of the descriptions may refer to private celebrations, but some explicitly refer to Reservation. It would seem probable, however, that in that case intinction was commonly used; and the formula of administration began "The body and blood," or "The body with the blood," or "The body of our Lord Jesus Christ steeped in His blood," or the like.§

In England, the clergy were enjoined by the *Excerpts* of Egbert to have the eucharist ready for the sick, lest they should die without communion.‖ A well-known provincial constitution of Archbishop Peckham, dated A.D. 1279, prescribes how the sacrament is to be taken with due reverence to the sick by the priest vested in surplice and stole, with light and bell. Lyndwode has an elaborate gloss on this constitution.¶

* See M. Ormanian, *Church of Armenia* (Eng. tr., London, 1912), p. 215.

† Maclean-Browne, *The Catholicos of the East and his people* (London, 1892), p. 261;

‡ *Ib.*, p. 273.

§ Scudamore, *Not. Euch.*, p. 1022 *f.*, see also F. E. Warren, *Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church* (Oxford, 1881), p. 218.

‖ W. Maskell, *Mon. Rit. Eccles. Angl.* (First Edition, London, 1846), i., p. ccxxiv. (Egbert was Archbishop of York 732–767, but the *Excerpts* are later than Egbert; see Smith-Wace, *Dict. Chr. Biog.*, ii. 51.)

¶ Maskell, i., p. ccxxxi., *f.*

II

Such is a brief summary of the history of Reservation up to the Reformation. The highly practical question has been raised whether a local Church can regulate or forbid the custom. It has been said that according to the universal custom of the Catholic Church the right, or rather the duty, to reserve the holy sacrament in the parish church for communion is an integral part of the cure of souls. But surely this is somewhat of an over-statement if it implies, as it seems to do, that a local Church has no *power* to regulate or prohibit the custom. The idea that a canon of a council on disciplinary matters can only be reversed or amended by an equal or superior authority takes no account of the fact that in canon law regulations can be abolished by desuetude; and, as has been pointed out lately in this Review,* disciplinary canons of even ecumenical councils have been abolished in a comparatively short space of time. And here we have no decree of a council, only an universal custom.

A more important question is, whether the Church of England, as a matter of fact, has prohibited Reservation. In view of the general custom, a positive prohibition would be necessary to establish the position that she has done so. We must therefore consider the history of the matter from the Reformation onwards. In 1549 an office for private celebrations for the sick was given, and also a rubric directing the priest to reserve the sacrament at a public communion and to com municate the sick on the same day. Another rubric directs that if there be no public communion on a day when the sick are to be communicated, and if there are more sick persons than one to be visited the same day, the priest is to reserve at the first celebration for the sick, and to carry the sacrament immediately to the rest. In 1552 these rubrics were omitted, but an office for a private eucharist was still given. It will be remembered that the controversy at this time was not so much as to *how* the sick were to be communicated, but as to whether they were to be communicated at all. It has been maintained that the arrangements made in 1552 actually prohibited Reservation; but the contrary opinion is at least tenable, and has been held by learned historians. It is certainly noteworthy that in the Latin Prayer Book of 1560 the former of the two 1549 rubrics mentioned above is retained. A more positive indication is found in the Scottish Prayer Book of 1637, commonly

* *V.* p. 291 (November, 1922). Even parts of the decree of the Apostolic Council of Acts xv. seem to have become obsolete when the Apocalypse was written. See Rev. ii. 24, with Swete's note.

called Laud's. Here for the first time appears the direction to consume the remainder of the consecrated elements, and not to carry them out of the church. The rubric was thence inserted, in practically the same words (though with the omission of some of the 1637 directions), in the English prayer book of 1662, and still remains there. This has been judged to be a positive prohibition of Reservation. Yet it may be observed that Reservation was not in the mind of the "Laudian" revisers of 1637, nor of the English revisers of 1662, who desired to forbid the profane but apparently not then uncommon custom of using the remainder of the consecrated elements for secular purposes. It may be said, however, that though prohibition of Reservation might not have been in the mind of the revisers, yet, as a matter of fact, they did, by the wording which they adopted, prohibit it. To this the pertinent objection has been made that exactly the same direction as to the consumption of the sacrament was in force in the Middle Ages, when the custom of Reservation for the communion of the sick was confessedly universal.* At least, it may be said that the prohibition of Reservation by the present rubric is not obvious.

III

It may be of interest to refer to the use of Reservation in a country where it has been common for at least the last two centuries. In the disestablished "Episcopal Church in Scotland" it has been the ordinary practice to reserve for the communion of the sick. The Non-jurors' eucharistic office of 1718,† the liturgical merits of which have never received their due attention, has a rubric directing Reservation (without saying that the sick are to be communicated *on the same day*), and adding the prohibition against carrying the remainder of the elements not so needed out of the church. This office was printed in London, and the Scottish Non-jurors may have adopted the custom of Reservation from it, or, as is perhaps more likely, the office attests a custom already in use and dictated by the needs of the times. It is to be noted that in the reprint of the "Laudian" office in 1722, the rubric which is said to prohibit Reservation is omitted, and it does not appear, as far as I know, in any later edition of the Scottish Communion Office. It is not found in the great 1764 edition, compiled by William Falconar, Bishop of Moray, and Robert Forbes, Bishop of Ross, which became the recognized liturgy of the Scottish

* It is to be found in Gratian's *Decretum*, c. A.D. 1150, and is commented on by Lyndwode in his *Provinciale*, c. A.D. 1440.

† This may be seen in Dowden's *Scottish Communion Office*, 1764 (Second Edition, Oxford, 1922), p. 210 *ff.*

Church, and which says nothing on the subject of the communion of the sick. The matter, as far as synodical authority goes, rested on custom till 1911. But the custom is not doubted, and is several times referred to. It would seem that the communion was always in both kinds; and it was the custom, especially at the great festivals, to consecrate sufficient at the public celebration for the communicants then present and also for the sick, and to carry the sacrament to the latter during the octave. By this method the sick people had a feeling of union with the congregation in church; and in North Aberdeenshire, quite late in the last century, old people spoke of communion with the reserved sacrament as "the altar coming to them."*

Bishop Robert Forbes, already mentioned, in his *Second Journal*,† tells us (in 1770) how he took the reserved sacrament to two sick persons near Inverness. Bishop Alexander of Dunkeld (1743-1776) has left a manuscript prayer for use on such occasions, copied into his Scottish Communion Office of 1764.‡ In Shetland, in the eighteenth century and later, the Presbyterian laity took away in a clean handkerchief a portion of the sacrament to sick members of their families.§ The saintly Alexander Jolly, Bishop of Moray (1796-1838), who died on the day of Queen Victoria's coronation, reserved i his house for his own communions on Sundays and Holy-days when there was no public eucharist.‖ In the Prayer Book of Patrick Torry, Bishop of St. Andrews, Dunkeld, and Dunblane (1808-1852), which was compiled in order to testify to the customs of his time, appears a rubric directing Reservation for the communion of the sick and others who could not be present at the celebration in church. But the custom, though continuous and general, was not canonically sanctioned till 1911, when, in the present Scottish Liturgy as then authorized in a text slightly amended as compared with that of 1764, the following rubric was added: "According to long-existing custom in the Scottish Church, the Presbyter may reserve so much of the Consecrated Gifts as may be required for the communion of the sick, and others who could not be present at the celebration in church. All that remaineth of the Holy Sacrament, and is not so required, the Presbyter and such other of the communicants as he shall then call unto him, shall, after the Blessing, reverently eat and drink." This is chiefly

* F. C. Eeles, *Traditional Ceremonial and Customs connected with the Scottish Liturgy* (London, 1910), p. 94. In this book many interesting customs of this sort are described.

† Ed. J. B. Craven (London, 1886), p. 283.

‡ Given by Eeles, p. 92. § Eeles, p. 95.

‖ W. Walker, *Memoirs of Bishops Jolly and Gleig* (Edinburgh, 1878), p. 57.

from Bishop Torry's book. The ordinary method of reserving is to use a glass vessel for the consecrated wine, with a silver box for the consecrated bread fitting it closely.

IV

This article may be concluded with a few general considerations which, it is hoped, will not be considered as unduly interfering with the internal affairs of the Church of England.

1. It will be the general wish to do all that is possible to enable sick persons to make their communions, and especially the dying. It is not enough to rest content with the perfectly true statement made in the Prayer Book office for the communion of the sick, that one who is prevented from receiving, nevertheless (if he has repentance and faith) makes a real though only spiritual communion. The same thing is said in the mediæval Latin service books of those who are physically unable to receive the sacrament. "Tantum crede, et manducasti," as the priest is directed to say to the sick person, quoting Augustine nearly *verbatim* (though that father is speaking of another subject). But while this is quite true as regards the sick person himself, it does not relieve the Church of a great responsibility if it should put unreasonable obstacles in the way of the sick receiving the sacrament.

2. Experience shows that private celebrations are frequently impossible, without gross irreverence, especially in large towns where many people inhabit the same room, and often in hospitals; and in cases of severe sickness and of infectious diseases they are frequently too great a strain on the sick, more so than is often known.

3. As has been said, the fact that the Church of England has prohibited Reservation is at least doubtful, in spite of the opinion of two eminent Archbishops. If this be the case, the needs of our time would seem to point to the desirability of an explicit recognition of the custom of Reservation for the sick.

4. If, again, this be granted, it is useless to endeavour to make restrictions which are not feasible in practice. Reservation for the day only is not practicable except in large town parishes, even if there. It is often necessary to carry the sacrament to a great distance from the church; and if there are several sick cases, it is impossible in some country districts to supply their needs on a single day. How is a busy country priest, who can often get a celebration on Sunday only, to communicate all his sick on that day?

5. It would seem to be very undesirable to leave it to the discretion of an individual bishop whether Reservation should

be allowed in his diocese or not. This would be a grievous injustice in many cases, and would, moreover, lead to the very thing which is to be avoided, the existence of different types of dioceses, some "High" and some "Low." This would be as undesirable as leaving it to the option of an individual priest whether the Quicunque should be recited or altogether omitted. At the same time, it might well be recognized that the Bishop of a diocese should have the right of deciding the place and manner in which the sacrament should be kept in each church.

A. J. MACLEAN.

(*Bishop of Moray and Ross*).

CHURCH HISTORY: SOME PRELIMINARIES AND SOME PROBLEMS*

"The underlying thought is that not only the field of what we call special revelation but the whole process of religious evolution must be included in one great divine scheme, which has its human side of progressive experiment, but has no less its divine side in which all the scattered imperfect and fluctuating efforts of man are co-ordinated into a single continuous and comprehensive whole, with subtle invisible links between its various parts and stages."—SANDAY: *Divine Overruling*, Preface.

"For the essence of humanism is that belief . . . that nothing which has ever interested living men and women can wholly lose its vitality, no language they have spoken, no oracle beside which they have hushed their voices, no dream which has once been entertained by actual human minds, nothing about which they have ever been passionate or expended time and zeal."—PATER: *Renaissance*, end of essay on "Pico Della Mirandola."

YOU will be reasonable enough, I feel sure, to consider that in the very short time that has elapsed since this Chair was filled, and amid the haste and trepidation with which its occupant has concluded his pastoral labours and prepared to enter on his duties here, there has been little opportunity for composing such a well-ordered address as might be worthy of this occasion and fittingly convey to you with what convictions and aims I undertake the teaching of Ecclesiastical History in this ancient and venerable University. Nor again, to be frank, will you expect that meantime my utterance can be anything but the product of a mind nervously conscious of lacking as yet much of that massive learning and ripe wisdom which characterized my predecessors in this Chair. It is no easy task which has been laid upon me, worthily to sustain the great traditions of our oldest Scottish University and to continue the work of Mitchell, Herkless, and Main, men distinguished alike as scholars and as churchmen, whose influence upon both the

* Inaugural Lecture, by Rev. J. H. Baxter, B.D., Professor of Ecclesiastica History in the University of St. Andrews, formerly Scholar and Fellow of the University of Glasgow, delivered in the University of St. Andrews, November 17, 1922.

hearts and the minds of those who passed through this class-room into the work of the Ministry was of the most impressive and enduring kind. Moreover, the extent of the field to be covered; the rigorous, patient, many-sided research demanded by modern historical science; the just, dispassionate handling of materials and valuing of results in a field where prejudice or neglect provides such constantly threatening and dangerous pitfalls—these might well dismay greater and more experienced scholars than I. Yet I can count on your sympathy—count, too, on the willing co-operation of my students in my efforts not only to make this subject a wise training for their life-work, but also, I hope, in attempting to elucidate some of the many problems in our field of study which are as yet unsolved or insufficiently examined. As a reward for such labours, we shall secure for ourselves that *dulcedo inuentionis quam præcessit labor inquisitionis*,* and besides, we shall be vindicating the claim of the Church to be to-day what it was when it founded this *Studium generale* and others: patron and promoter of all branches of human knowledge and investigation. At the same time, we shall be preparing, by this intellectual activity, for making a more urgent claim on humankind and for a fresh realization of the Church's task, the Church's message, and the Church's King and Head.

I

The work of this Chair is clearly marked out both in its connection with, and in its differentiation from, the other disciplines of the Divinity Hall. All alike have as their central fact, their starting-point, the Incarnation of Jesus Christ our Lord. The preparation for this in the Chosen People, the foreshadowings and intimations of it, come under the survey of the Chair of Old Testament History and Literature. Biblical criticism studies the written records of our Saviour's life on earth, His teaching and His influence as operating and extending in and through His immediate followers. Church History takes up the record of the Christian Faith as age by age it seeks to express itself in organizations and institutions slowly evolved or adapted to meet that specific need; its main preoccupation is with what Mr. Belloc calls "the imperfect human machinery of a perfect superhuman revelation." Building upon all three, Theology crowns the edifice by the discussion, both historical and constructive, of Christianity as a system of thought and belief, in itself and in comparison with other religions. Ecclesiastical History has, then, in common

* Aug., *In Ps.* 38, 2.

with its sister-studies, its origin and motive in the Incarnate Lord; with Biblical Criticism in particular, it shares much of its method. Both have to deal with human records of that Life and human expressions of Its meaning and abiding power to regenerate, inspire, and sustain. Both seek primarily to understand and appraise these human witnesses with their diverse points of view and powers of vision and of utterance, in order eventually to grasp and appropriate the Divine, Transcendental, and largely Inexpressible which is working in their lives and compelling their pens, and which they try, valiantly yet with unavoidable inadequacy, to describe or portray. It is a commonplace that the nature and the range of Jesus' teaching and influence were conditioned by the capacity of His earliest disciples, biographers, and interpreters; yet it is only within living memory that the humanness of these records has been clearly recognized and accepted. Names like Robertson Smith on the one hand, Hatch on the other; the work of Deissmann, Moulton, and our own Dr. George Milligan, are reminders how very recent has been this recognition, even among the clergy, of the "naturalness" (if we may so call it) of our Sacred Writings, their affinity with, and limitation by, what was current and normal in civilization, culture, and experience at the time of their composition. To adopt this critical view of the documents is not by any means to detract from their worth or to invalidate their evidence; the Divine in them may be, in a sense, removed one stage farther away from us; they may give us, not the pure light of Divine Truth, but an image broken and in some wise distorted by the imperfection of the medium through which it passes to us. Even so, what is this but one more salutary reminder that "His thoughts are not our thoughts," that, in St. Augustine's words, "whatever is said about Him is inadequate and unworthy, since in His unspeakable sublimity, He outdistances every resource of every tongue."* It is certainly true here that—

> Life, like a dome of many-coloured glass
> Stains the white radiance of Eternity.

However this may be, it has given us one gain: a God whose Holiness, Greatness, Majesty, and surpassing Beauty are higher far than had been realized before. It has destroyed crude, earthy, and material notions of the Divine and Its operations upon man, and revealed to us One Who works in a manner manifoldly rich, infinitely more spiritual, more subtle and delicate than was ever before conceived.

* Aug., *C. Adim.*, 7, 4: (Illa Maiestas), de qua quidquid dictum fuerit, indigne dicitur; quia omnes opes linguarum omnium ineffabili sublimitate præcedit.

The condition of things confronting the ecclesiastical historian is very largely identical; his business too is with imperfect witnesses to a supreme supernatural fact. The historian's primary materials are records of human thought and activity in the past—records not of every kind, but those specifically which, in some measure, have their origin, motive, and inspiration in the Faith and Love of Jesus Christ, Incarnate Son of God. His Influence is most clearly and continuously, though not exclusively, to be traced in the Church, His mystical Body, Wherein He promised the indwelling of the Holy Spirit.

That such records of the human appropriation and expression of the Divine Life are of widely differing value needs no pointing out. Differences in individual talent and character, in training, environment and circumstance; differences, too, in the understanding of His Person, Message, and Work, and in self-surrender to His influence—all these result in many-sided, divergent testimony to the one Divine. Along with heroism, moral excellence, spiritual beauty, possible only through contact with the Supernatural, are found stagnation, error, baseness, and fanaticism, resulting from the neglect or repulsion of vital elements in the Faith. Yet this picture of chequered light and shade constitutes, upon the whole, the greatest proof of the truth and vitality, the richness and all-sufficiency of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. The continuance, through nearly two thousand years of immensely dissimilar human experience in lands and ages widely sundered, of what is a real identity of Christian belief is explicable only on the assumption of a constant and abiding contact, in each of these units of individual and community, with an unchanging and eternal Reality. Broadly speaking, there is a complex of experiences and conceptions which mark and characterize each Christian person and each Christian group, of whatsoever age or civilization it may be; amid the many diversities, there is always enough essential identity to allow us clearly to trace continuity, growth, and development, as the spiritual nature of the ideal is more fully apprehended. To look at any one age or individual detached from the whole procession of Christian history is to realize that we have very truly "on earth the broken arcs"; but however limited and incomplete may be these fragments of eternal Truth, can we not see in them indubitable evidence of the grace and power of the infinite God? The lamentable mistakes and misdeeds of those who have called themselves by the name of Christ do not impair the Truth itself, nor need they make us doubt that in some measure, great or small, such men have been touched and guided by the Spirit of Power. We believe in the Holy Ghost, and this belief the lapses and

failures of humankind will not shake, for great as have been the errors of the past, and slow as has been the growth of the spiritual kingdom, the Influence behind the successive seekers after it has been permanent and strong, and Its success is sure. And here the study of Church History provides a needed, salutary warning and reassurance to those who pass through these classrooms to Christian service among the people, for there, in each microcosm, the same phenomenon before long impresses itself on the young minister, that tares and wheat are inseparably mixed, "good in the worst of us, bad in the best of us"; yet in the always sobering personal discovery of this fact, who will deny—who, on the contrary, does not take heart again at the thought—that the Spirit of God is ever present, ever operating upon the apparently unchanging and irremediable elements in both the individual and society?

To hold this double fact in mind, the recognition of an abiding, perfect Spirit in the world, guiding into all Truth, and of a finite, inadequate medium for its operation and expression, is to appreciate at once the nature and the difficulty of our task as Church historians. Our materials consist of all records of activity and thought produced in man by contact with this Divine. Writings and pronouncements strictly theological are but one portion of our concern; outside these lie such matters as forms of Christian worship, Canon Law, music, architecture, to mention but a few. Our tools must be those employed by secular history; our method as scientific and considered. Religious activity being inseparable from other activities, we need a sound knowledge of history outside the purely religious field, for to divorce religious experience and its expression from these various complexes, social, æsthetic, and intellectual that constitute the higher life of our race, is to place arbitrary limits to the operation of the Holy Spirit and to do Religion itself a signal disservice. The distinction between "sacred" and "secular" may make for practical convenience, but to treat it as absolute is to detract from the universality of Him "without Whom was not anything made that was made." But if it be well for the Church historian to feel how wide are the bounds of his province, he must, none the less, keep clearly before himself and others that which is the heart and centre of his work, to trace within the specifically religious life, behind all the contingent, changing expressions, the ever-present reality and power of God. His search is really for each age's answer in word and deed to the question: "What think ye of Christ?" Their grasp and use of the historic record of His life and teaching may be limited or little, their self-emptying to receive the Spirit Who leads into all Truth be incomplete, and

their Christianity be in no clear or striking manner manifest to our eye; yet by holding them to be still of the Faith (since God "fulfils Himself in many ways"), we acknowledge that, as this Faith is grounded on a historic Jesus, so His body, the Church, is perpetuated in a historic sequence and continuity. The condition of the Church throughout the centuries may then be typified by those occasional parabolic sights the sea affords us on a cloudy day: from where you stand, the sun is veiled and hidden, yet almost to your feet may come a shaft of light upon the waves, broken and fleeting as the waters rise and fall, —proof that the hidden sun is bright and strong.

The best result of a study conducted in this spirit is not simply that we learn to understand the heritage which has come down to us from the past and forms so much of the staple of our own lives; we are, besides, enriched in countless ways beyond our own experience by entering into the amazingly varied and fertile experiences of earlier runners in the race. We learn how adequately the Gospel has met their varying moods and needs; we see their apprehension of the Faith stirring them to enthusiasm in maintaining its integrity, to devoted labour in its propagation, to heroism and self-forgetfulness in its defence. In them we may discover and assimilate elements which they were led to emphasize, and which we, too, may yet, as conditions change, find fruitful. For a sympathetic understanding of their temporary insistencies, no less than of their universal qualities, may greatly aid us, both in mind and heart, by providing a right standpoint from which to view those heirlooms of the Faith which seem to have lost their message or their applicability, by showing us new lines along which we may develop, and by revealing old and yet satisfying answers to problems which we deemed peculiar to our own time. Great saints, who have deeply drunk at the fountain of living waters, always, of course, enlarge and stimulate those who imbibe their teaching: the "Confessions," the "Imitatio," the "Pilgrim's Progress," are for all time, delivering us from the narrow round in which our lives revolve, yet sending us back to it with simpler hearts, purer vision, and an abundant sense of the rich graciousness and all-sufficiency of Christ. But contact with lesser men and blinder ages has its value too, if only for the warning it provides, the questioning it evokes, and the urgency with which it sends us back to measure all by the standard of the New Testament. Both great and small, valley as well as hill, are part of that diversified and ever-changing territory through which the Christian life has progressed in Time; the deeps are necessary, if only to show the grandeur of the heights, and both together needful in the continuous,

unceasing, and unfinished record of what the Spirit of God is working out through the powers of man. The very existence of this and similar Chairs for the teaching of Ecclesiastical History is an evident declaration of the absurdity and the impossibility of neglecting the centuries from the days of Jesus Christ until now—a neglect not seldom seen when over-emphasis on this intervening period renders a "Back to Christ" movement inevitable and, indeed, essential for the readjustment of values; so, within these years of progressive human experience of the Divine, there is always room and opportunity for the careful exploration of portions of this experience that have been for a season obscured and unexamined. For myself, I may be allowed to say that in the early Fathers—strangely neglected in our Scottish Church since the days of the Aberdeen Doctors, though certainly not disallowed of our Scottish Reformers, whose conservatism is indeed in marked contrast with the radicalism of other Reformation leaders—I am not alone in finding what I believe to be of undoubted value for our Scottish Christianity to-day. There we have the spectacle of a Church, not free, certainly, from foes within and without, yet largely uncontaminated by unscriptural accretions, and largely undivided by lamentable schisms; an age of great men, greatly operated on by the Holy Spirit, whose contributions to Christian thought have been of massive influence upon all succeeding times, and still exhibit a vitality which the amount of labour spent even now in their elucidation seems to declare unexhausted. Without question they assert the reality of the supernatural life; more than has been, perhaps, the case since the Reformation, they can conceive of no Christianity which is not at the same time a social life; they have no problem of uninstitutional religion, for with them to think of Christ is to think of His Church. All modes of human activity alike were looked on and encouraged as means of glorifying God: architecture, window-glass, the moulding of metal and the carving of wood, are no less evidences of His inspiration, tokens of His beauty, and tributes to His greatness than the cherishing of the poor and the conversion of the heathen. Their faith impelled them to eager intellectual effort to probe its mysteries and express its worth, no unneeded reminder to an age which tends to seek in its religion "the maximum of respectability with the minimum of thought," and leaves the deepest problems of man's life and destiny to be the professional study of the clergy. These characteristics of an earlier time may surely help us in facing our position to-day, deserted, as we are, by the "lapsed masses" on the one side and by the "intellectuals" on the other. The regaining for the Church of these two derelict bodies is a great and pressing

duty, to be accomplished (if I may venture an opinion) in a temper such as is produced by the deep and patient study of our subject in this Chair, a temper which insists uncompromisingly upon the basic facts of our Christian Faith, Sin and Salvation, and which, besides, exhibits towards men a charity, tolerance, and love such as we ourselves have found in Christ.

II

From what precedes, you will be prepared to make with me one or two deductions:

1. Since the story of the Church is the story of the achievements in and through human material of the Risen Saviour and the Guiding Spirit, blotted and confused certainly, but still a record of the "many other things which Jesus did" and is doing, the field of its survey is obviously as wide and varied as human life itself. There is a sense in which "all history since the day of Pentecost is sacred history"; there has been written an account of philanthropic and humanitarian development which the author has entitled *Gesta Christi*, viewing these unlabelled activities as inspired and prompted by the Spirit of Christ which is at work in the world. This is all to the good, a reminder that just as Religion cannot be isolated from human life as a whole, so religious history should not be, and indeed cannot be, isolated from other portions of the story of mankind. What matters here is the point of view; for convenience' sake, a division of labour is necessary, and we have as our duty to regard men's deeds and words in so far as they are expressive of, or prompted by, the fact of Christ, and their associations in so far as they contribute to the human realization or worship of God. Taking thus the Church as a divine society, a visible institution seeking to embody and promote a supernatural life, we shall be required to have towards this institution enough sympathy and interest to read aright the account of its genesis, development, and aims. These qualities are best found in those who are themselves within the same current, who are in possession of an experience of Jesus Christ no less real than that enjoyed by the Christians of the past. In our universities this subject forms a portion of the professional training of candidates for the Holy Ministry (though it need not be exclusively limited to such), and it is right, therefore, that its exponents should have, from personal experience, some understanding of the power of the Gospel to save and satisfy; present conditions demand, besides, that here should be handled and taught the history of Christian doctrine. Indeed, it is hardly possible to sever some account of doctrine from our treatment of Christian

history, and obviously, such a subject requires the sympathetic insight of a teacher who is, at the very least, not inimical, not even indifferent, to the truths and the welfare of the Christian Religion. Merely national or local prejudices and presuppositions are, of course, to be as rigidly excluded as is possible; generally speaking, our own conclusions are not to be used as tests or measures of Christians of the third, or thirteenth, or any century. Probably, as has been said, "there is hardly a German or Swiss theologian of the (past) century to whom the student is referred as epoch-making or at least stimulating . . . who would have been able to survive an appeal for the exercise of our Presbyterian discipline."* But this is a different matter from a merely passive attitude towards Christianity itself. Properly to understand and appraise bygone activities and formulations in the name of Christ and bygone experiences of His message and power, it is essential to share these realizations of an Influence which operates in us as It operated in the past and will continue to operate in the future.

Here let me declare in a word yet unmistakably, that in the full faith of Jesus Christ I undertake my duties in this place, seeking from Him wisdom both to teach and to learn, and offering my service only for the good of His Church and the glory of His Name.

2. I pass to the other point: scholarship. Earlier I spoke of the temporal and contingent elements in the record of religious activity; these in their turn demand for full understanding the same gifts, training, and application as are indispensable in other branches of historical science: the same familiarity with methods of internal and external criticism, diplomatic skill, and linguistic accuracy. It is regrettable but true that in history, as in Biblical exegesis, much foolishness is perpetrated and palmed off on the unlearned even by men of "a very pretty talent and a great deal of industry";† yet a misconstrued text from the Bible or a misinterpreted piece of historical evidence is surely as reprehensible as a misconstrued passage of Horace or Virgil, and infinitely more mischievous. In this respect religious writers are bad offenders, as Paul Lejay, that consummate, many-talented scholar, had to point out in his reviews over and over again.‡ The training for the Christian Ministry, to be a real preparation to meet and answer the challenge of modern intellectual life, must be based upon a thorough discipline in the subjects taught in the Faculty of Arts. How entirely essential, for example, is a sound know-

* Prof. W. P. Paterson, *The Position and the Prospects of Theology* (1903), p. 8.
† Sheridan, "School for Scandal," init.
‡ *Passim* in *e.g.*, *Revue d'hist. et de litt. religieuses.* First Series.

ledge of Greek to Divinity students, how elementary and ineffectual the study of the New Testament becomes when this is lacking, only those know who have either taught or studied in such a class; whatever may be done elsewhere, the Church can do no other than sedulously urge and promote the wider study of Greek in both University and school. Over and above this insistence on a thorough preliminary discipline, we may rightly, I think, press for the removal of the purely conventional barriers that separate the work of the Faculty of Arts from our own; a very great deal is lost if Church History, and perhaps in a greater degree Theology in some, at least, of its many branches, be regarded as an appurtenance merely of the Faculty of Divinity, and not as possible cultural courses in the education of the average student. On the other hand, how fruitful for Arts as well as Divinity would be the recognition that vastly important fields of enquiry should not be taboo because they are definitely Christian. I think not only of a Latin department, which might laudably, as two of our Scottish Humanity Professors have done to my own knowledge and incalculable gain, include Christian writers within its survey; nor only of Greek, though as a student I was privileged to attend a class of Hellenistic Greek where a signally learned teacher expounded, alongside of Lucian, the New Testament, papyri, and an Alexandrian ecclesiastic; some study of the much neglected Scholasticism, for example, might very profitably be a propædeutic to work definitely theological, for without that, much of the history and the present condition of thought and life within the Church of Rome must inevitably escape our understanding. If you suspect that I am advocating a learned ministry, you have caught my meaning rightly; learned not in a narrow or pedantic way, but so broadly and deeply that not only will it be capable of meeting intellectual doubts of this, or any age, but also (and more important) learned enough to have reached wisdom and humility, without which our flock will look up and not be fed, nor we ourselves achieve that simplicity of little children which Christ said we ought to have. Periods of ignorance (or what is worse, of unassimilated learning) are periods of superstition and decay; periods of intellectual vigour always precede, if they do not actually cause, theological and evangelical revival. The Reformation follows at the heels of the Renascence; the German theological awakening of last century follows strenuous philological and philosophical enquiry; in our own land we gratefully place beside the name of John Knox that of George Buchanan. To the Christian temper let there be added sound and accurate scholarship, and you have the ideal worker for at least this branch of theological study, men "in quibus," as

Guerric said in the twelfth century, "nec industria gratiam, nec gratia deseruit industriam"*—in whom grace and diligence are mutually strengthening allies.

In the department of Ecclesiastical History the past generation or two has seen unparalleled progress made, for historical science as a whole has been renovated, its aims discussed, the rôle of its ancillary sciences defined, its materials and methods subjected to a careful and critical re-examination. If the result has been to give us monographs rather than huge canvases, this is a very promising indication for the soundness of future syntheses. In the quest for evidence hitherto overlooked, manuscripts long forgotten in the dust of libraries have been disinterred, much valuable information has been recovered, and many nice problems considered with a thoroughness never before possible. This state of things allows a unique opportunity for the co-operation of students with experienced teachers, for the training of scholars in this subject, and for the production of such contributions as younger men may make to our deeper knowledge of the Christian past.

III

I may be allowed, after these generalizations, to outline roughly, from my own necessarily brief and limited experience, three little problems, or rather groups of problems, requiring that twofold quality of heart and mind of which I have spoken, and yielding, it seems to me, results of richness and value, not without their bearing on some very modern questions.

1. This year a very learned professor in a sister-University will complete, after lengthy and exacting labours, the publication of the works of the earliest Briton to wield a pen, Pelagius the heresiarch. With this long-contaminated writing at last before us in the form in which it originally appeared, we shall have an unmatched chance to reconsider not only Pelagius himself, but that century of complex and conflicting currents which followed him. "Pelagian" and "Semi-Pelagian" may be to many only labels, but they cover curiously dissimilar and divergent points of view. In Semi-Pelagianism especially, differences in moral character and mental equipment, in understanding and emphasis, produce views and opinions that cross and recross each other in so perplexing a fashion as to demand the most discriminating and precise investigation. Questions primarily literary yet of much importance for Church History and Theology arise immediately in profusion; under the names of Prosper, Eucherius, Faustus, Vigilius, Arnobius Junior, to

* *Serm. III. in Epiph.*, 5

mention but a few at random, are printed documents which urgently call for further treatment. So, too, many lesser articles in like case: the interesting *Carmen de Providentia divina*, written in Gaul by some Pelagian practically contemporary with the heresiarch himself; the treatise, *On the Hardening of Pharaoh's Heart*, discovered by Dom G. Morin and described by him as exhibiting Pelagianism in all its native crudity. The last word is not yet spoken on the work of a Pelagian writer of special interest to British scholars, Fastidius, a British Bishop, under whose name is preserved the tractate on *The Christian Life*, printed among the spurious works of St. Augustine, and raising questions not yet satisfactorily answered.

Another problem, or series of problems, is raised by a group of writings of capital importance for the history of Christian life and thought in the fifth century; I speak of the anonymous *De Uocatione omnium Gentium*, the *Auctoritates de Gratia*, and the Epistle to the Virgin Demetrias. The first-named is a prime source and authority for this period of intense activity on behalf of, or against, Semi-Pelagianism, remarkable for its conciliatory spirit, its dialectic skill and its independent handling and regrouping of important elements in the Augustinian theology. That these three writings proceed from one pen is, I am sure, quite evident, the *Auctoritates* and the *de Uocatione* showing an agreement in language and in liturgical details* which affords no small presumption of identity of authorship. There seems no altogether conclusive reason for denying, as the majority of modern students do, that the author in question is the great Leo himself, but here at least is opportunity for a careful re-discussion of the whole matter. Such a discussion should be of much service and acceptableness, providing, as it does, a chance for clearing up an important problem in an involved and complex period of Christian history, material for entering on the examination of that ancient strife between Grace and Freewill, and a starting-point of undoubted value for the consideration of our own Calvinism, whose roots are deep in this very century and in these same doctrines.

2. Another period of religious awakening and energy, the Carolingian Renascence, offers us in turn its obscurities for our examination and its fruitful contributions for our enrichment. Very briefly I may refer you to one somewhat earlier figure, born indeed before his time, and worthy of patient study and investigation. Some forty years after our own Bede we come upon Ambrosius Autpertus or Ansbertus, Biblical student and commentator, historian and theologian. To him belong not

* *Cf. Journal of Theological Studies*, xxi. (1920), 221 *ff.*

only a treatise on the book of the Revelation, not reprinted since the seventeenth century, but also, as the brilliant criticism of Dom Morin has amply shown, the famous *Conflictus Uitiorum atque Uirtutum*, an ascetic work of immense circulation and influence during the Middle Ages, a beautiful prayer printed among the works of St. Ambrose, and that pseudo-Hieronymian *Cogitis me* on the Assumption of the Virgin. To him belongs as well the pseudo-Augustinian *de Assumptione*, as both the manuscript tradition and a comparison of style will prove. From these may be estimated how very much subsequent enquiry along this line at least owes to this rathripe Christian thinker.

But in that reawakening of the human mind so largely brought about by Charlemagne and fostered by his care we meet two other figures of less remote theology, of greater similarity, nearness, and interest to ourselves. Agobard of Lyons and Claudius of Turin have been described as "Protestants before the Reformation," and there is some justice in this characterization. In opposition to popular superstitions, such as witchcraft, the efficacy of the ordeal, the belief that money gifts to churches will end pestilence and plague, Agobard (to mention only one of the pair) is singularly akin to our modern mind, not least in the liberal views he takes of inspiration. Reformer of Christian worship, reprover of clerical laxity, upholder of Scripture study, Agobard certainly has our sympathy in the position he, and Claudius too, take up in that question of image-worship which was so fierce a cause of dissension between East and West. Both alike are opposed to the interposition of any such intermediaries between the individual soul and God as angels, saints, images or relics, for salvation comes from God through One Mediator alone. Here is an attitude with which we do not need to force our sympathy; besides, these men may teach us what disputes and disagreements led to the schism between the Eastern and the Western churches and, even if not showing just how so regrettable a breach may be bridged, reveal to us something of the character and the peculiar contribution of either side that we may, again, add to our own Christian thought and practice elements of abiding richness and value.

IV

I crave one moment more to speak of one who ought to be a pride to this very town; interest ought to be easily gained for a servant of God under Walter, second Prior of St. Andrews Priory, who has left writings of no small bulk and no small

value. Adam Scot, Premonstratensian, sometime Abbot of Whithorn, holds his own place of honour and distinction in a century made famous by such men as St. Bernard, Peter Lombard, Anselm, Richard of St. Victor, John of Salisbury, and Orderic Vital. His *Soliloquium de Instructione Animæ* was deemed not unworthy of Adam of St. Victor himself, and is attributed to him, indeed, not only by three manuscripts known to me,* but expressly by the seventeenth-century critic Pez.† Our Adam Scot has left enough material to show his interest and value; he has a place among scholastic philosophers; to Scottish history he has some references, which you will find mentioned in the article on him in the *Dictionary of National Biography;* to religious life in our land about the year 1180 he bears precious, though unexamined, witness. One of his friends, John, Abbot of Kelso, urges him to write a work on the Mosaic Tabernacle, and suggests the lines on which Adam should go, and Adam undertakes the task, even drawing out with his own hand a plan of the Tabernacle as he conceived it. His sermons, his *Soliloquies* (dedicated, by the way, to Walter, "in Ecclesia S. Andreæ"), his exegetical and ascetic treatises, copious and fluent, are redolent of a charming spirit of humility, kindliness, and contemplative piety; they reveal, too, a width of reading, in both Christian authors and profane, which is surely remarkable for that time. Very probably he had access to the library of Robert, Bishop of St. Andrews, which was left to the Augustinian Canons here in 1144; if so, can we reconstruct that library from the hints or the quotations of Adam Scot? It is not surprising to learn that he is a far-travelled man, for by his day the old saying of Rhabanus Maurus about the *Scotti* had become the tritest of platitudes: "Natio Scottorum, quibus consuetudo peregrinandi iam pæne in naturam conversa est."‡ That Augustine forms the staple of his thought is not strange in an Augustinian Canon. The extent of his reading is a welcome and delightful proof that here, even 250 years before the founding of our University, learning was diligently sought after and heavenly wisdom sedulously pursued.

What better task could one of our own number undertake than the restoration to his proper place and honour of our early townsman and fellow-Christian? Manuscripts might be found, the text edited and a translation made; then, I venture to predict, Adam Scot will be recognized as having more than a merely antiquarian interest; he can teach us a way of contemplation and piety which would add to our own worship the

* Paris, B.N., 2921 (dated 1441); Brussels, 1229 (sæc. xv.), and 1929 (dated 1460).
† *Thes. Nov. Anecd.*, I. ii., 335 *ff.*
‡ *Mirac. S. Galli*, ii. 47.

sweetness, winsomeness, and charm that breathe yet from his forgotten but living pages.

For the end of the suggestions is far from being merely academic; such rich and varied memorials of the past as I have touched on so inadequately are for the heart as well as the head. They show us more of the amazing treasures of the Faith we are to practise and to teach, and give us greater charity, greater insight, and greater humility. Then, knowing how all-sufficing is the Gift of God to men, we shall make our own that eager cry of a saint of long ago: "O could we but arouse men, and be along with them aroused ourselves, to be such lovers of the life that passeth not away, as men are of the life that fleeteth and is gone."*

J. H. Baxter.

"THE GOSPEL" IN THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION

What is the Gospel? It is the Good-Spell, the Good Word, the Good Tidings. And since, as has been finely said, "All God's benedictions are benefactions," or, in older theological phrase, "God is pure Act," the Gospel is more than a Word. It is an Act. It stands for the whole energy of God's mind and purpose towards man. *Οὐκ ἀδυνατήσει παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ πᾶν ῥῆμα.* "No word from God shall be void of power." † The Christian Religion is many-sided. It is primarily a revelation of God to man—a disclosure of Truth which the mind of man could not discover by himself, but which he can apprehend when it is disclosed. It is again, or, more exactly, it involves, a moral law which divine authority binds—perhaps that is the root-meaning of the word "religion"—on the conscience and will of men. And this Revelation and Law are transmitted from age to age by a Divine Society which is the custodian of its sacred writings and of a duly-constituted ministry and sacraments; and these find expression in the ordered liturgies and ritual of the Catholic Church. Yet each and all of these lose almost their meaning, certainly their colour and texture, if they are not shot through and through with the radiance of the Gospel, "the Gospel of the grace of God," "the Gospel of the glory of the blessed God." And we need to realize its deep and wide content, "the fullness of the blessing of the Gospel of Christ."‡

* Aug., *In Io. Eu.*, 49, 2: *O si possemus excitare homines, et cum ipsis pariter excitari, ut tales essemus amatores uitæ permanentis quales sunt homines amatores uitae fugientis.*

† St. Luke v. 37.

‡ Acts xx. 24; 1 Tim. i. 11; Rom. xv. 29.

Take, for example, the Bible as the record of its content. Quite rightly the four Gospels are so called *par excellence*, inasmuch as they record the fundamental facts on which all the blessing of the Gospel rests. Yet is it sufficiently realized and taught that the whole Bible, from beginning to end, contains a Gospel? It opens with a *Protevangelium*, as Dr. Westcott expounded for us in that noble essay, "The Gospel of Creation," appended to his commentary on St. John, and again in his volume, *Christus Consummator*. "The first Gospel is not the word of consolation, but the Word of the Divine Counsel: 'Let us make man in our image after our likeness.'" This Alexandrian theology, as it is sometimes called, is looked at askance to-day by some. Yet it forms an essential point of approach to all considerations of sin and salvation, and is, moreover, creative of many modern ideas, orthodox and unorthodox. Then the call of Abraham and the career of the chosen people which forms the staple of O.T. history, start, as St. Paul plainly teaches, not with the Law, but the Promise; and a Promise is in its essence a Gospel. I, for my part, can vividly and gratefully recall how a scholarly yet simple exposition of Gal. iii., to which I listened as a layman, flashed into my soul this truth which has since been to me 'a master-light of all my seeing.' "The Scripture preached beforehand the Gospel unto Abraham." "God gave it to Abraham by promise." The writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews enunciates the same truth, though he makes it indeed a ground of warning rather than of hope: "Let us, therefore, fear . . . For unto us was the Gospel preached, *as well as unto them*" (Heb. iv. 1, 2). Even Moses, who as a lawgiver stands in contrast to our Lord, "by whom came grace and truth," is declared by St. Stephen to be not merely "a ruler and a judge," but "a redeemer." The preface to the Law is, "I am the Lord your God, which brought you out of the land of Egypt." The Exodus, "the comprehensive type of all salvation," precedes Sinai, and forms the background of all the appeals and demands which God makes to His people; while the Return from Captivity is set alongside of it as the second cardinal Act of God's redemptive Power and Mercy. The worth of the O.T., its link with the N.T., its Gospel character, are to be found, not as many of us were taught in our childhood, in curious typical or prophetical details or in allegorical interpretation, but in its being broadly the record of God's grace as experienced by prophets and psalmists and, through them, of the whole nation. The fact, which the history plainly declares, that the people were only slowly led on through many set-backs and much stubbornness to apprehend the Divine purpose and character, only enhances the wonder of

God's mercy and grace. "The keynote of the O.T.," says Dr. Bruce, in his admirable book, *The Chief End of Revelation*, "is Grace." The Law is set by St. Paul in its right place as the goal, not the antecedent, of grace. "God sent His own Son . . . that the righteousness of the law might be fulfilled in us." The heart of love which opened to the people of old is still a heart of love to us.

Or, again, follow the sequel to the four Gospels. I know of no principle in the interpretation of the N.T. more profound or far-reaching than that which some of our best modern teachers, notably Scott-Holland, have set forth — that the four Gospels contain no Gospel, or, at any rate, not "the truth of the holy Gospel," until they are read, as they were written, in the full light of the Catholic Creed exhibited in the Epistles which preceded them in date. This is the most powerful—indeed, the only effective—argument to meet the contention of those who set an impassable gulf between the "Jesus of history" and "the Christ of St. Paul." "The watchword of the early Christians," it has been well said, "was not 'Back to Christ,' but 'Up to Christ,' 'On to Christ.' They thought of Him, not as a literary figure in the past, but as a living force in the present."* But we, too, on our part, must start from the present. As Dr. Figgis says somewhere, "All history begins with here and now." This is the essence of the sacramental principle. If the Sacraments are real means of grace, they are saturated with the joy and liberty of the Gospel. They are altogether evangelical. In each sacramental act God is manifested as the free Creative Agent, bestowing a free gift. "Man's part is only this, to come with clean hands and a pure heart to receive the Gift from God, to search and see that no separating sin bars the entrance of the Divine Grace. The doctrine of justification by faith is either a sacramental doctrine or it becomes a cover for a subtle theory of human merit, and ceases to be true."† "The wealth and wonder of the Gospel find their richest expression in the Sacrament of the Holy Communion," says Dr. J. H. Oldham.‡ And, indeed, it must be so, if Communion with God is the climax of the Gospel. "What," asks Bishop Moule, "is the εὐαγγέλιον?" Subordinately, it is many things. But its inmost glory, the mysterious central brightness of its message is the giving by God of Himself to man. It is man's union and then communion with God in Christ.

1. Now if this comprehensive view of the Gospel is at all true, how inexplicable it is that the word "Evangelical" should

* *Christ and the Church*, by A. W. Robinson, p. 47.
† Aubrey Moore, *From Advent to Advent*, p. 57.
‡ *The World and the Gospel*, p. 48.

have become, often without a challenge, the label of a party—a party, too, which minimizes, if it does not sometimes deny, the full efficacy of sacramental Grace? Certainly the Evangelical movement, originating as it did in a revolt from the dry-as-dust Churchmanship of the eighteenth century, inspired the dry bones with a new breath of personal religion. It laid a much-needed emphasis on the immediacy of the soul's access to God in Christ. But from the first it was entangled in crude and impossible theories of Biblical inspiration and of atonement. It has been too subjective to have a firm rational hold on the dogmatic verities of the Faith, and too individualistic to regard the Church as anything more than a voluntary association of converted Christians. And it has spent much of its strength in trying to enforce Protestant inhibitions, in denying the free exercise of ministerial absolution, through which thousands of souls have entered into the joy and peace of believing, and in frowning on the dignity and beauty of Catholic ritual which finds its *raison d'être* in expressing, through form and colour and song and movement, the joy of the redeemed. The memory which many of us cherish of the ministry of such men as George Body, George Howard Wilkinson, Arthur Henry Stanton, is a proof of the vital affinity which exists between the words "Catholic" and "Evangelical," and no task is more urgent or more reconciling in its results than to hand on this tradition. If only the Anglo-Catholic movement can keep its evangelical aim dominant it will win the sympathy of all who love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity.

2. But we feel to-day the impact of another force at least as powerful as that of Protestant Evangelicalism. Modernism has to be reckoned with. And here, again, the strength of the Catholic position lies not in denunciation, still less in persecution or prosecution, but in the reasoned assertion of positive principles. And it may be fearlessly asserted that whatever worth may belong to Christianity regarded as an ethical code or as the high-water mark of human aspiration, it ceases to be a Gospel unless it is rooted in the recognition of (1) the reality of the guilt of sin, and (2) the transcendence of God in Christ. (1) Until we gain a sense of moral responsibility to a holy God, the Gospel of forgiveness has no meaning. A Gospel of forgetfulness is its shallow substitute. "A sensible man does not worry about his sins," is the accepted formula. And though it is the Christological aspect of Modernism which has been most prominent, we cannot fail to see in it a fatal taint of Pelagianism. And (2) still more essential to any Gospel of Grace is the sense of Givenness—to use that strange striking word of Baron Von Hügel. No writer expresses with more delicacy

and depth the doctrine of God's Transcendence, along with full appreciation of the correlative truth of Immanence. "The central character of Christianity is a Givenness, a Transcendence in Immanence, an Incarnation, a witness to the full life there with glimpses and suggestions of it here." The story, the joy, the power of the Gospel lies in the recognition of Jesus Christ not merely as an evolution from below, but as "the very God out of very God, Who for us men and for our salvation came down from heaven."

Plunged in a gulf of dark despair
We wretched sinners lay,
Without one cheerful beam of hope
Or spark of glimmering day.
With pitying eye the Prince of Peace
Beheld our helpless grief:
He saw, and, O amazing love!
He ran to our relief.

* * * * *

These glowing metaphors of Isaac Watts's little-known hymn find their counterpart throughout Christian literature from St. Paul's Epistles onwards. It is a matter of experience rather than argument. The Catholic doctrine of the Incarnation is felt to be a Gospel only because it stands for the invasion of God's love and might to succour an impotent and fallen humanity.

3. But there is another wide aspect of the Gospel which neither the "Evangelical" nor the "Catholic" has always adequately apprehended or translated into action. Yet it finds expression in the first occurrence of the word "Gospel" in the N.T. "And Jesus went about preaching the *Gospel of the Kingdom*."* "A very surprising though silent change has been taking place," said Dr. Horton in a recent sermon, "in the whole emphasis of the Christian religion. It is the new birth of an old truth—the first message with which Christ came into the world, the idea of the Kingdom." We may resent his words which follow: "In the Church there was a total misrepresentation of the term 'the Kingdom of God,' for it was treated as something to do with a future world." We may rightly reply that it has. But certainly the mistake has often been made of treating the Kingdom as only or chiefly to do with the world beyond. How many children of the Church have been taught that their baptismal privilege, of being "inheritors of the kingdom of heaven," simply means that they may hope to go to heaven when they die! On the other hand, the Kingdom has been regarded as merely a synonym for the Church, and, as a result, Church life has been too self-centred and her outlook narrowed. Yet under the guidance of the Holy Spirit we are slowly learning and turning into practice the connotation of

* St. Matt. iii. 23

this great phrase. I remember some striking words which I heard Archbishop Benson utter thirty-five years ago at the Wolverhampton Church Congress: "The Church work of about forty years ago was the great evangelical power which brought the souls of individual Christians into closer relation with God. For another forty years, roughly speaking, another great idea dominated us—that of making the individual feel his position in the Church. . . . And now comes the next step. The work of the next forty years is to make the Church feel her position with regard to all Society—and to us Society must mean not only England, but all the world." We might take another Church Congress utterance as marking this advance—the noble Presidential address which the Bishop of Winchester gave at Southampton nine years ago on "The Duty of the Church in relation to the Kingdom." The Church does not exhaust the wealth of its Good News by the conversion of individual souls, though that is its primary end; nor, again, by maintaining the warm fellowship of worship and life within the circle of its attached adherents. The Church is a means to an end. It exists for the service and salvation of the world, into which it must boldly step and get somehow into close contact with the increasingly complex problems of human society. The Church, of course, cannot pledge its Gospel to any form of economic theory or political constitution. As Dr. Chadwick truly said last March at a Nonconformist Council: "The Kingdom of Christ is something better than a programme of little work and big wages—something more than mere enlarged opportunity and benefits on the basis of economic value." How far we are to go in challenging the present industrial system is a matter of sharp dispute among ourselves. But the fact remains that the minds of masses of professing and practising Churchpeople are sadly dull and their consciences sadly inert in responding to the call that the Church should concern itself with social problems in the Name of Christ and in the power of His Gospel. And beyond the duty and difficulty of bringing the light and joy of the Gospel into the dark places of our own country, there lies the wider mission, contained in the original Evangel, of bringing "peace and goodwill among men"; and here it can be truly said that the Church is open-eyed to this world-wide vision as never before. The Gospel, then, in its full and proper sense, touches every aspect and covers the whole field of Christian life and endeavour. It brings peace and joy and power to our individual souls. "Who loved me and gave Himself for me." It is the ground of our loyalty to the mystical Body of Christ of which we are very members incorporate. "Who loved the Church and gave Himself for it." It sets the individual

Christian and the whole Church, or any part of it, in a relation of loving service to the whole world—the world which God so loved that He gave His only begotten Son—the world for the sake of which the Lord prayed that His Church might be one. We can only claim the title "Catholic" in the fulfilment of this service. "My faith in the Church," said Fr. Tyrrell, "is part of my faith in humanity. The very word 'Catholic' is music to my ears, and summons before my eyes the outstretched Arms of Him Who died for the whole *orbis terrarum*."

The Gospel is good news for me—for the Church—for the world.

F. E. CARTER.

THE PERSONAL LIFE OF THE CLERGY*

THIS is the subject of the concluding lecture in the series arranged by your Evangelistic Council. While it is a high honour for any priest to be called upon to address his brother priests on this subject, it also lays upon him a grave responsibility. My audience includes men differing in age, experience, background, temperament, and ecclesiastical views; if, therefore, what I am going to say does not find the same response in all minds, I hope you will extend to me the indulgence which I claim as being less well equipped for my task than many here present. One consolation I have already—viz., that our subject lies outside the reach of controversy, so that I have no fear of treading on delicate ground; in dealing with the personal life of the clergy there can be no burning questions. The principles have been laid down by leaders of unquestioned authority; details must be worked out in accordance with changes brought about by the ever-shifting environment in which the priest finds himself; for even in isolated villages people are born and die, and in the passage from one to the other they are affected by changes going on all round them in thought, habit, and custom. And there are greater changes still, changes brought about by the War; if I do not give examples it is only because both they and their trend are familiar to you. For instance, all the books on the subject of the Personal Life of the Clergy, which I shall name presently, were (with one exception) written before the War. It is therefore obvious that many of their detailed suggestions are no longer workable, owing to the dearth of man-power among the clergy; but the principles on which these rest are eternally fresh, and it is the principles which must be our main study. Coming to our authorities (for we depend in a real sense on the experts) I leave on one side lectures at

* A paper read to a gathering of clergy at Brighton on November, 22, 1922.

Theological Colleges and post-ordination courses for clergy—or rather, I take them for granted, and I pass on to mention the books which have helped me personally, naming them in chronological order of publication:

1. *The Priest in his Inner Life*, by Canon Liddon, published by Masters, 1882, and prefixed to a volume of sermons on Clerical Life and Work preached at various times between 1860 and 1885, and published by Longmans, 1894.

2. *Self-Discipline*, by Dr. Gibson, Bishop of Gloucester; six lectures delivered in the Divinity School, Cambridge, 1893, and published by S.P.C.K., 1894.

3. *The Personal Life of The Clergy*, by Canon A. W. Robinson. A volume in Longman's Handbooks for the Clergy. Third Edition. 1912.

4. *The Town Parson*, by Canon Peter Green, lectures delivered at Cambridge and at King's College, London, 1914; published by Longmans, 1919.

5. *Pastoral Life and Work To-day*, by Dr. Kempthorne, Bishop of Lichfield, published by Longmans, 1919.

To give a digest of the contents of each of these five books would serve no useful purpose because that is something you could do for yourselves if you possessed them; it would be more useful if I attempted to show that either explicitly or implicitly there is common ground between them and a substantial agreement on the principles which should regulate the personal life of the clergy; and if I add a few remarks prompted by personal experience and observation, I shall have made an attempt—however lame—to discharge the task laid upon me. Every lecture should have a framework. I propose as headings: I. Devotion; II. Discipline; III. Dangers; IV. Conclusion.

I.—Devotion.

The difference between a priest and a painter or barrister or tradesman is that in the last three and, indeed, all other cases, the profession or business is superimposed on the life; in the case of the priest the profession *is* the life. If so, the priest's life needs continual renewal, thorough, methodical, and unceasing, conveyed by direct contact with God. We have to deliver a message from Him. He might have written it in letters of fire in the heavens, as Voltaire observed, or proclaimed it by the voice of angels, or in other ways; He *has* chosen men, set apart not *because* they are more spiritual than others, but in order that they may become so. That message will have little chance of reaching its mark unless the medium through which it comes is kept as clean as glass. So much I

infer from Alford's* comment on the adjective εἰλικρινής—sincere, clean, so that the sun's rays can shine through it. A priest's most telling sermon is his life. "I should be more ready to believe what Mr. X. says in the pulpit if his life outside the pulpit corresponded to it," was the remark once made to me about a preacher; it was a just as well as a damaging criticism. Coming to details, I subdivide this heading as follows:

1. PENITENCE.—This implies not merely contrition for specific failures, but a permanent attitude, an abiding temper, induced by the greatness of the task put into our hands and the consciousness of recurring failures to cope with it, failures arising from neglect, culpable ignorance, unreadiness, and the like, but all of them traceable to faulty self-examination. Many men, even hard-working, devoted men, seem incapable of self-criticism. This makes them censorious, hasty, and overbearing. I tried to explain this once to a curate, and his reply was, "The people make everything so personal." Of course they do. We have to commend our message by humility and sincerity; otherwise it falls on deaf ears. Tact and sympathy are born of constant self-criticism; they are means, not ends, but indispensable means. But besides the permanent attitude of penitence, we must have periodical tests as well. And here I commend not the long strings of questions provided in our books of devotion, which tend to become rather stale and unhelpful simply from repeated use, but a prayerful study in the original Greek of certain passages in the N.T., such as the Beatitudes in S. Matt. v., the nine fruits of the Spirit in Gal. v., and the precepts in Rom. xii. read from the point of view of the priestly life. I also strongly commend the Litany of Remembrance, published at the end of the *Life of Dr. Ridding*, late Bishop of Southwell, and issued in a separate volume by Bemrose of Derby. On the anniversary of our ordination it is very helpful to read through carefully the service for Ordination of Priests, and think long and honestly how far we are carrying out our vows. This is not to encourage a morbid spiritual dissection, but is like overhauling an engine and examining and repairing its several parts so as to get better work out of it when it is put together again. Our efficiency index will rise sharply if we know our real selves thoroughly.

2. WATCHFULNESS.—In the address to those who are being ordained priests, we are bidden to be Watchmen, as well as Messengers and Stewards. We must be always on the watch—not only against the entry of wolves into the fold, but against causes of stumbling to ourselves. We are never off duty.

* Phil. i. 10.

There is no time when we can relapse into ways which may be pardoned in a layman, but disfigure the priest. We must unbend the bow, else the string may break; but we do this within well-defined limits. The Scouts' motto, "Be prepared," is applicable to the priest's life with singular force. We can never tell beforehand by whom or at what time or for what purpose we may be wanted; we must be always ready.

3. Prayer and Meditation.—Take these together, for they are inseparable even if meditation is informal. God wants the confidences of all His children as a proof of their trust in Him; most of all does He ask this proof from His clergy. If we are not instant in prayer, we damage our usefulness by depriving Him of the one great instrument by which He arms and enables us for our task. We must have reverent but intimate relationship with God. Let prayer be methodical, and throw the net wide. *Sursum Corda* is as good a book as I know; the S.P.G. cycle for a month covers a large field of missionary needs; most useful to all is a MS. book in which special petitions may be written and underlined when granted. To examine one's book at the end of the year is a wonderful revelation. Many parish difficulties, when brought before God in prayer, simply fade away: cantankerous men and unreasonable women often drop their unpleasant characteristics, baffling tangles become soluble, and the whole atmosphere gains in serenity when treated in this way. It is unnecessary to multiply illustrations; if our Lord found it necessary to spend whole nights in prayer, and has carried intercession into His glorified life, no other or stronger argument can be imagined for our continuing instant in prayer.

4. Reading.—This belongs to another set of lectures, but, speaking generally, I would remind you of Bacon's maxim "Reading makes a full man." "I am come to be filled up," was the remark of a Norfolk Island catechist to Bishop Selwyn, to whom he came for advice. We are always giving out; it stands to reason that we need "filling up." It is good always to have one standard theological work on the stocks, not one of the books rather caustically described by Bishop Gore as "the eighteen-penny things"; and history, criticism, belles-lettres, novels, are all good. I once asked a young doctor, a devotee of George Meredith, whether he really gained anything solid from his novels. "Yes," he replied, "now I know what Jones is going to do." I won't spoil the answer by any explanation; but it is a great help to us clergy to have an idea as to what Jones is going to do, and to learn it in so pleasant a fashion.

5. Self-Consecration.—Clergy are set apart, not in status, but in function. "Be ye holy, for I am holy," has a

special meaning for them. I once asked a Bishop, "In what kind of parish do you find spiritual life most in evidence?" His reply was, "In the parish which has had a succession of three, or preferably four, saintly incumbents." The effects of consistent self-consecration are incalculable. [I cannot do better than quote a passage from Bishop Paget's *Hallowing of Work*, a published book (Rivingtons, 1889) of addresses given at a Retreat for Schoolmasters held at Eton in 1888, pp. 16, 17.]

II.—Discipline.

1. Time and Proportion.—Rules, as we know, are made to be broken, but *some* rule of life we must have. Let there be a fixed time for getting up and going to bed, for devotion, for reading, for visiting. The men who suffer from overwork are commonly those who have not developed a sense of proportion. The priest who complains, as one did recently, that on a certain day he had to spend five and a half hours in hearing confessions has as faulty a sense of proportion, though the fault is in a better cause, as his neighbour who spends the same amount of time on committees. We are needed for both tasks, but in due proportion. Every priest is a steward of his own time. It is fallacious to suppose that every day can be divided up in the same way; but a week's time-table ought to have clear signs that every kind of duty has had its fair allowance of time allotted to it. The exceptional calls that often occur ought to bring out into stronger relief the general principle that time should be divided not into watertight compartments, but into fairly recognizable and adjustable sections.

2. Use of Money.—I hope it is not heartless in these difficult times to throw out a hint about the careful use of money. How many priests keep accurate household and personal accounts? Many find it distasteful to do so, but it is really necessary. Whether we have much or little, we ought to know exactly how we stand, at least every month. Nothing makes friends in a parish so much as the punctual discharge of small accounts. I know a priest with a good record of work behind him who is painfully careless about paying his monthly bills, and forgets even to pay his gardener's wages and the hire of a pony cart; and, to make it worse, he is a wealthy man. After that, one is not surprised to learn that he has emptied his church. Another bad practice that prevails sometimes is that of mixing up parish and personal accounts. It is unbusinesslike and leads to serious misunderstanding. The Parochial Church Councils Act ought to remove this difficulty, for a parson ought to handle no public money at all; but if he is still com-

pelled to by circumstances, let him keep these funds strictly apart and have them audited by a layman. The credit of the Church is at stake, and we cannot be too careful in such matters.

3. Relationships.—The priest finds himself planted in a composite society consisting of men and women of all ages, grades, tastes, both educated and non-educated. What part is he to play in this heterogeneous company? We have heard so much about starchy parsons and the need of Fellowship that we are beginning to grow tired of it. It is helpful to remember that what we must aim at is not Fellowship as such, but "Fellowship in the Truth." Becoming all things to all men implies not that easy-going tolerance which can make no moral distinctions, but a universal sympathy which will in each case guide us to right action. Meditate on our Lord's bearing towards Zacchæus, the Woman of Samaria, Nicodemus, the young ruler, the Syrophœnician woman; He is always the same, yet not quite the same; the principle, love, is always there, but its application is dictated by circumstances and persons. A diamond has many facets, but it is the same diamond.

4. Personal Habits.—There should be something sacramental about the personal appearance of the priest. However poor he is he must take care, when executing any part of his office, to have a clean collar and clean hands and nails. His clothes may bear marks of age, but they need not be dusty, dirty, or spotty; "the apparel oft proclaims the man," and one need not subscribe to everything in *Sartor Resartus* to admit that the outward man must not be neglected. In food, drink, and recreation let our tastes be simple and lean to the Spartan side all round. I say "all round" because there are many who, while very strict with themselves about fasting in Lent and on Fridays, are quite incontinent on fasts and feasts alike about tobacco. I speak as a smoker who enjoys his pipe; but I would ask you to consider whether it is seemly that fingers stained with nicotine should dispense the Bread of Life, or whether it is kind to bring a strong odour of tobacco to the bedside of a dying person. We are expected to be considerate, and we hurt people when we are not; and considerateness always costs something—not only self-denial, but thoughtfulness.

What am I to say about health? Many worry about their health; few take care of it. But God has put into our own hands this task, and we ought to face it. As one who has enjoyed uniformly good health all his life I should say that its preservation depends mainly on obedience to a few simple rules, to willingness to cut down or cut off little indulgences, and to a clear recognition of the truth that Nature, unlike God, never forgives. Indigestion is our chief trouble; it is curable by

lying down for half an hour before the chief meal of the day—whether at 1 or at 8 p.m. I have cured myself, and so I know. If the circulation slows down before a meal, digestion can begin immediately; if you come hot-foot to dinner the apparatus is thrown out of gear, and goes on strike with unpleasant results.

For the rest we shall do well to judge our conduct by St. Paul's standard of σεμνότης—gravity, refinement, reserve, spiritual breeding. If you are hesitating about something you want to say or do, some form of recreation coming in your way, some company you are likely to take part in, ask yourself, "Is it σεμνός?" The *Pastoral Epistles* may help you.

III.—Dangers.

1. Secularization.—Our last point serves as a connecting-link between the disciplined life and the dangers which beset it. The clergy are received everywhere; they suffer from no social ostracism. Hence they often have to face a situation in which they must say to themselves, "This is clearly lawful for me—but is it expedient?" The act of judging, though it gives trouble, is an education in itself, and a little practice enables us to exercise good judgment in such difficulties with no great strain or effort. That is both true and comforting, for the need of right judgment in all things is always with us. The growth of freedom—personal, political, social, religious—affects clergy as well as laity. The removal of conventional restraints (which has been proceeding in geometrical progression since the War) demands a tightening of the inner resolve. We have to discover a *via media* between the narrowness which finds expression in the imaginary epitaph, "Was born a man and died a priest," and the latitude which is tolerance run mad. Your influence will gain nothing if you go about in a light coat and a red tie; you may win a cheap popularity among those whose goodwill is not worth having, but your spirituality will suffer. Recent correspondence in the *Church Times* on the flippancy of some of the younger clergy shows that the danger of secularization is not a phantom danger. For the rest, immersion in duties and occupations other than clerical leads to gradual forgetfulness of the purposes for which we were ordained.

2. Partisanship.—How far this is one of the greater dangers to-day it is difficult to judge. We are more polite in expressing our differences than we used to be. There is less rancour, less reciprocal contempt, much less bitterness than there was. But just as the disappearance of the Coalition has revealed the eternal difference between Liberal and Tory, so a weakening of the movement towards Reunion since the

Lambeth Encyclical of 1920 has reminded us that serious differences of opinion and conviction do exist, not merely between the Church and Nonconformity, but also within the Church itself. I do not see how parties can ever be got rid of because there will always be differences among us of taste, temperament, upbringing, environment; and room must be allowed for these to express themselves. But do not let any of us wear blinkers. To my mind, the danger lies not in the extremists at both ends, but in the pedantic rigidity which freezes charity and kills right judgment. Pedantry is the curse of the half-educated. Therefore let us always go on learning, reading, thinking, and opening our minds to every expansive influence, and not be ashamed to change them if new knowledge and fresh evidence incline us to change. There is a faith once delivered to the saints which can never change without risking the foundations; but many hot battles are fought over issues capable of adjustment by sensible people who are more anxious for an honourable peace than a resounding victory. The saying is still true, "In omnibus caritas."

3. Over-Occupation.—The danger that more than any other threatens Christian life generally is preoccupation. This arises very commonly from over-occupation. How has this danger arisen ?* Preoccupation in the clergy reacts unfavourably on the laity. If prayers are hurried, demeanour nervous, services unrestful, and visiting perfunctory, it is not the shepherd's work only that suffers, but the spiritual tone of his flock. "Limit your work," was the advice given by Pusey to Liddon. "Mastery," said Lord Acton, in his inaugural lecture at Cambridge, "is acquired by resolved limitation." "If you want a thing well done, don't do it yourself." Keep yourself for the big things you cannot delegate to others. The laity have their chance now in the Parochial Church Council; it is worth while to take trouble to train them in usefulness. It is better for them to make mistakes than not to try. For ourselves, St. Augustine's description of Our Blessed Lord as *semper agens, semper quietus*, always aiming at something but never fussy, is one we should try to make our own. No man can do everything well; if he tries to, he ends in doing most things badly.

4. Sloth.—But if over-occupation dogs some of us, laziness lies in wait to cut off others. I am not sure whether I should not hold it up as the master sin among the clergy. Bishop Carey of Bloemfontein says somewhere that "the hundred hardest-worked men in England are clergy, and so are the hundred worst slackers." In the area between these the temptation to be

* The note in Robinson, p. 144, will supply the answer.

idle is severe and widespread. It takes many forms—want of method, unpunctuality, adopting the line of least resistance, late breakfasts following late hours at night, no accounts of personal or household expenditure, slipshod notices in church and on the notice-boards, vestries dirty and untidy, letters unanswered, no rule of life, no notice of the week's services, locked churches, no daily Morning and Evening Prayer—what are these but the handiwork of the demon of sloth dressed up in various guises? A parish soon gets to read its parson's character just as boys do that of their masters. "I wish you would speak to the Rev. A., sir," said a cottage woman to an archdeacon, "he is never down till 10 o'clock and, what's more, the whole parish knows it and so doesn't believe in him." I put an extreme case, but the trail of sloth is over many lives which have settled on their lees and have never discovered the fact. The man who had one talent was ἀχρεῖος—unprofitable—not because he did wrong, but because he did nothing. Whatever happens, we must take care that we have something to show when our day of reckoning comes—and that not of wood, hay, or stubble.

5. Depression.—Unlike sloth, this deserves the deepest sympathy. It may be due to ill-health; if so, review your habits of life, and have a talk with the doctor, and if he gives you advice, do not think you are wiser than he is, or be stupid about following his treatment. Is it due to lack of periodical recreation? Try to develop a hobby. Some like handwork, some prefer golf or botany or music or architecture. I have seen the happiest results come from the patient effort to become an expert in one study. It saves us from professionalism and narrowness; it provides an outlet for creative energy; it makes interesting the hours when we are alone or off duty; it forms the basis of happy friendships. Is depression due to spiritual causes? Someone has described it as "self-confidence that has failed." Perhaps Elijah's case suggested this thought. In Pym's *Psychology and the Christian Life* a distinction is drawn between working for God and leaning on God; despondency often comes from forgetting that God has a part to play as well as ourselves, and if we try to do all the work and leave Him merely to look on, we fail and sink into despondency. But we are to serve God and be cheerful. "Serve the Lord with gladness; and come before His presence with a song."

6. Ambition.—Can ambition ever be a Christian virtue, or does it remain an infirmity, though an infirmity of noble minds? Anyone who has read Archbishop Trench's delightful lectures on Mediæval Church History will appreciate the danger always lying in the path of spiritual men and institutions—the danger of using power tyrannically. Rome has done so persistently;

according to George Tyrrell—not perhaps an unprejudiced witness—"Rome cares nothing for Truth, but only for Power." The priest who is an enthusiast and eager to influence others must be on his guard when he sees that he is amassing power over the minds of those to whom he ministers. The appetite for power grows, as all other appetites do, by being indulged; and ambition, when it becomes a purely personal thing, has no beauty in it. But there *is* a Christian *φιλοτιμία*, and you can estimate its limitations by studying the three passages in N.T. where the word is found: 1 Thess. iv. 11, *φιλοτιμεῖσθε ἡσυχάζειν καὶ πράσσειν τὰ ἴδια*; Rom. xv. 20, *φιλοτιμούμενον εὐαγγελίζεσθαι οὐχ ὅπου ὠνομάσθη Χριστὸς ἵνα μὴ ἐπ' ἀλλότριον θεμέλιον οἰκοδομῶ*; 2 Cor. v. 9, *φιλοτιμούμεθα εὐάρεστοι αὐτῷ εἶναι.*

To be calm and free from fussiness, and stick to our own last; to preach the Gospel, but not in someone else's preserves; to give satisfaction to the Divine Master who employs us—these are samples of the lawful objects of priestly ambition; all others may be tested by the principles on which these rest—viz., self-effacement, subordination, spiritual efficiency.

IV.—Conclusion.

May I end with a picture drawn for us by the first English poet more than 500 years ago—that of the "Poor Parson of the Town," by Geoffrey Chaucer. He meant it to be a foil to the portraits of the Monk and the Friar, but incidentally he shows that the life of a secular could show more beauty, harmony, and fruitfulness than the lives of some regulars. It may also provide a foil to my rather arid treatment of our subject and a musical ending to a prosaic paper.

He was also a lerned man, a clerk
That Cristës gospel truly woldë prechë;
His parischens devoutly woldë techë.

* * * * *

Wyd was his parisch, and houses fer asonder,
But he ne laftë not for reyne ne thonder,
In siknesse nor in meschief to visitë
The ferrest in his parissche, moche and litë;
This noble ensample to his scheep he gaf,
That ferst he wroughte, and afterward he taughtë.

* * * * *

To drawë folk to heven by fairnessë,
By good ensample, was his busynessë.*

* Chaucer's "Poor Parson of the Town."

W. H. David.

MISCELLANEA

NOTES AND COMMENTS

We have received the following request from Miss Kirkpatrick, Newspaper Secretary, S.P.G., 15, Tufton Street, Westminster, S.W. 1, which we gladly bring before our readers:

"Several of our Missionaries are asking if Theology could be sent out to them. Do you think some of the subscribers would pass on their copies when read? I am merely the link between those abroad and at home, and would gladly give a name and address to anyone who would do this."

We have had reason to know from our mailbag during the last few months that the Journal has been found helpful in the Church overseas, and we hope that there may be a good response to this appeal.

The Winchester Diocesan Church Music Committee have performed a service to the Church at large in the publication of *The Winchester Hymn Supplement*. It consists of three modest little volumes in paper cover. The first (price 4d., or 20s. per 100, post free) contains the words of seventy-four hymns, divided into three sections, for adults, older children, and younger children respectively. The second volume (price 6d., or 5s. per dozen, post free) contains tunes for a good number of the hymns in Parts I. and II. The third volume (price 1s. 3d., or 13s. 6d. per dozen, post free) contains tunes to all the hymns in Part III. All who have anything to do with Sunday Schools and their kindergarten departments will find help and suggestion here. The hymns for infants especially show the greatest skill, both in composition and selection. The Committee have done well, too, to print the Music of Merbecke to the Communion Office, with a brief and instructive introduction by Mr. Royle Shore; they express the hope that "in time it may come to be considered the normal thing not only for all Churchpeople to know it, but every boy and girl, at least before they leave Sunday School or Catechism."

The publishers are Messrs. Warren and Son, Winchester.

The Cambridge University Press have just published a neat edition of *The Supper of the Lord and the Holy Communion, Commonly called the Mass*, according to the Prayer Book of 1549, price 6d. net. This is opportune in view of the wide interest now taken in liturgical revision.

IN THE STUDY

By Rev. W. K. Lowther Clarke, B.D., Edit. Sec. of S.P.C.K.

ADVICE ON BOOKS

If readers who require advice on courses of theological study or the choice of books care to write to the Editorial Department of S.P.C.K., an attempt will be made to give them the required information. Sixpence in stamps should be sent to cover the cost of the necessary correspondence. It will frequently be necessary to refer the enquiry to an expert; a number of well-known scholars have consented to help in this way. Sometimes, especially in the summer months, there may be a little delay in answering. The Editor reserves the right to publish answers if they are of sufficient general interest. In such cases the initials of the correspondents will be given.

CANON LAW

[Thanks to the kindness of an expert we were able to send the following advice to a student who asked how to begin studying Canon Law.]

It is best to begin with the developed system of the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries, the *Corpus Juris Canonici* and its commentators, for an acquaintance with this outcome of a long development is most helpful to an intelligent study of origins.

Mr. E. G. Wood's brief dissertation, *The Regal Power of the Church*, thus becomes an excellent, though limited, introduction to the subject.

Most English books, unlike this, confine themselves to English practice. F. W. Maitland's *Roman Canon Law in the Church of England* is of first-rate importance, but it is marred by some few mistakes unexpected in such an author. These are discussed in Mr. Arthur Ogle's book, *The Canon Law in Mediæval England*, which is a useful corrective, though it has the faults of a definitely polemical tractate.

The next step in serious study may be to Lancelott, *Institutiones Juris Canonici*, a compact and manageable work of the sixteenth century, accessible in the principal libraries, or to Fleury, *Institution du Droit Ecclésiastique* (1687), which contains many special references to French practice, and is penetrated by the Gallican spirit. Of this there is a curious Latin translation by Grüber, which illuminates the subject by showing its application to a Lutheran "Landeskirche."

Origins may then be effectively studied in Mr. Oswald Reichel's recent work, *The Canon Law of Church Institutions*, with its copious apparatus of authorities. He is usually to be trusted, but a certain lack of historic perspective makes careful verification necessary, and the student will reap the greater harvest of knowledge.

After this he will be in condition to explore the immense field of the *Corpus Juris* itself, and thence to descend to the ramifications of Canon Law since the sixteenth century.

All this for the Western Church. A good introduction to the Canon Law of the Eastern Churches, less definitely systematized than that of the West, will be found in Beveridge's *Prolegomena to the Synodicon*, from which it is possible to pass direct to any modern work on the actual practice of the Church, such as that of Nikodim Milas, late Bishop of Zara, which can be read in a German translation, *Das Kirchenrecht der Morgenländischen Kirche*. Beveridge's prolegomena will be found in Migne's *Patrologia Gracca*, vol. cxxxvii.

T. A. L.

STUDIES IN TEXTS

[Under this heading we hope to give simple explanations of New Testament passages intended for the non-specialist reader. Special attention will be paid to those passages where the R.V. rendering is not universally accepted by present-day scholars.]

Acts ix. 5: *εἶπε δέ, Τίς εἶ, Κύριε; ὁ δέ, Ἐγώ εἰμι Ἰησοῦς ὃν σὺ διώκεις.*

Mr. Selwyn, in his interesting article on St. Stephen in the December number of Theology, says, "None of the three records of the Conversion say or suggest that [St. Paul] saw Jesus. What he saw was a light; Jesus he heard." He proceeds to draw out the psychological implications

of the story in a helpful way. Modern interpreters can hardly avoid doing this, but it is well to remember that the very reticent account in Galatians and hints in 1 and 2 Corinthians are all we have from the apostle's lips. No doubt his experience was one which it was not lawful to utter (*cf.* 2 Cor. xii. 3). Loisy, in his recent commentary, agrees with Mr. Selwyn. Only as St. Paul's own words must be preferred, he argues that the account in Acts ix., which supposes a light so blinding that no further vision was possible, is the work of an unintelligent redactor. I should prefer the epistles, too, but should say that Acts must be read in the light of the epistles and harmonized with them if possible, since the tradition must have originated with St. Paul.

Let us take the evidence in reverse order, leaving Acts ix. to the end.

1 Cor. ix. 1: "Am I not an apostle? Have I not seen Jesus our Lord?" xv. 8: "Last of all, He appeared to me also." In both passages St. Paul claims to be an apostle and witness of the Resurrection in the same sense as the original apostles. Acts xxvi. 16, 17, 19: "For to this end have I appeared (ὤφθην) unto thee . . . a witness of the fact that thou hast seen Me (ὧν τε εἶδές με—some MSS. omit με). . . . I was not disobedient unto the heavenly vision" (ὀπτασίᾳ—used of heavenly visitants in Lk. i. 22, xxiv. 23; 2 Cor. xii. 1).

Acts xxii. 14, 15: Ananias says God has chosen Paul out *to see the Righteous One* and hear a voice; he is to be a witness of what he has seen and heard.

Acts ix. 4, 5: We assume from the foregoing passages that St. Paul saw Jesus and interpret accordingly. St. Paul fell to the ground, dazzled by the light, which presently brought on a temporary blindness. As he lay on the ground he saw a human figure robed in light, which spoke to him. He could not recognize the figure for he had never known Christ after the flesh, so he asked, "Who art thou, lord?" This was either a glorified man or an angel, but who? "I am Jesus," is the answer. This seems to me the only possible reading of the passage. To say with Mr. Selwyn that by giving the title "lord" he meant that Jesus was what the Church claimed Him to be, namely Lord, is far too subtle. Such a psychological explanation can itself be psychologically explained — by the associations of the English word "lord." Before the announcement "I am Jesus," *Κύριε* is most naturally taken as the ordinary title of respect, as in Matt. xiii. 27, xvi. 22, xxvii. 63; Mk. vii. 28; Lk. v. 12; Jn. iv. 11.

The text at the head of this article should therefore be translated, "Who art thou, Sir?"

DISCUSSION

Two points are raised in the above "Study in Texts":

(*a*) The meaning of *κύριε* in Acts ix. 5. There is certainly good support among lexicographers for the rendering of the Greek word by "Sir," and no doubt the question whether that is the meaning in any particular case depends on the context. In the parallel passage, Acts xxii. 6*ff*, the ordinary meaning of *ὁ κύριος* as "the Lord" is found on St. Paul's lips within two verses of the vocative here discussed; and there is slight MSS. authority for a similar sentence containing the phrase in Acts ix. 6. I should be inclined to say that the question is open. To that extent the

immediacy of St. Paul's realization "that Jesus was what the Church said He was" (THEOLOGY, December, 1922, p. 309) cannot be securely inferred from his question. But I do not think that the issue is seriously affected. The answer, "I am Jesus whom thou persecutest," still carried with it for St. Paul's mind "the identification of the Christian community with its Lord," and necessitated the belief that He had risen from the dead.

(*b*) Mr. Lowther Clarke urges that St. Paul "saw" Jesus, and he cites the relevant passages from the Apostle's writings. The difficulty is a familiar one, if only because, if our Lord's appearance to St. Paul was really of the same kind as the other appearances he mentions in 1 Cor. xv., it is difficult to know how to conceive rightly of the meaning of the Ascension. I have always felt that exegesis must make a discrimination here, even though St. Paul did not make it, unless the strange words *ὡσπερεὶ τῷ ἐκτρώματι* imply some such discrimination. Yet the necessity was not the same for St. Paul here as it is for us. In 1 Cor. xv. he is insisting on the evidences of Christ's Resurrection, and mentions last among these—surely with good reason—the appearance to himself: his argument is not affected by the mode of that appearance, nor with whether the mode was the same in his case as in the others. At the same time, it is certainly open to us, who bear the Ascension in mind, to say that the appearance to St. Paul was differently conditioned from the appearances which took place during the forty days.

No doubt we have to choose between the Acts which says that "what St. Paul saw was a light: Jesus he heard," and the Epistles in which he claims to have "seen Jesus our Lord" (1 Cor. ix. 1). But the choice is not simply between direct and indirect evidence. The two alternatives are really these:

(1) St. Paul saw a human figure, which he came to know was that of Jesus. This amply accounts for his own language; but it is very curious that all the three accounts in St. Luke omit to mention the fact.

(2) St. Paul saw a light and heard a voice, thereby knowing that he was in a supernatural Presence. He came to learn that the Person who was the centre of this vision (*ὀπτασία*) was Jesus.

Now St. Paul would be perfectly justified in claiming on the basis of that experience that he had "seen the Lord"—the question in 1 Cor. ix. 1 is highly rhetorical—and that the Lord had "appeared" to him (1 Cor. xv.), and that Ananias had spoken of him (Saul) as chosen to "see that Just One" (Acts xxii. 14). But the historian would want to know in closer detail what occurred. St. Luke had ample opportunity of asking St. Paul to tell him the details; and I submit that the account in Acts is the result of the intimate questions which St. Luke asked about the matter and of the answers which St. Paul gave. This view does at any rate enable us to account—so I urge—for all the evidence and for its superficial discrepancies.

I may add that I have had an interesting letter from a correspondent suggesting that St. Paul was the "young man" who had great possessions (Matt. xix. 22; Mark x. 22), and that that incident marked the beginning of the psychological conflict which issued in his conversion.

E. G. S.

THE CHURCH IN AMERICA*

The best way of reviewing this important book, written by a New York professor with exceptional opportunities of forming a correct judgment, is to summarize and quote freely, leaving the reader to supply comment and criticism.

The army records during the war proved that the rank and file of American young men are religious. Over 90 per cent. of the soldiers were connected with some church. After long marches in which the temptation was to throw away impedimenta " in 90 per cent. of the personal effects of the dead soldiers there was a Bible, or a prayer-book, or a crucifix or scapula " (p. 19). Church attendance tends to increase. " It is doubtful if there has ever been a time in our history when more people were in the habit of attending church every Sunday (p. 25). " Sunday-school membership on the part of the young is almost universal. A remarkable illustration of the hold of religion upon working men is given. A great strike of tramway workers occurred at Denver in 1920. Strike-breakers were introduced, and the strikers, not being reinstated, were driven from the city to the number of 412. Of these 210 were Church members. Religious beliefs are vague, only Lutherans and Roman Catholics being well instructed. But the absence of intellectual difficulties is remarkable, and a very large proportion of people are satisfied with the churches as they are.

Yet traditional Americanism is being modified, especially by immigration and labour ideals. Over a million and a half Mexicans have crossed the southern border in recent years, and northern cities are developing negro quarters. The ideals of democracy are now widely questioned. Liberty and equality are no longer accepted as necessarily good. Working men " have accepted the philosophy of class with all that it implies. They do not believe that it is possible for them to be anything else than what they are, nor do they desire it " (p. 38).

The religious statistics of U.S.A. are instructive. In 1916 there were 41,926,854 Church members, 19,935,890 Sunday-school scholars, 203,432 Church buildings, 191,796 ministers of religion, of whom 63,543 were full-time workers. The Roman Catholics numbered 15,721,815, Methodists 7,166,451, Baptists 7,153,313, Lutherans 2,467,416, Presbyterians 2,255,626, Disciples 1,226,028, Episcopalians 1,092,821, Congregationalists 791,274. The Roman Catholics include all baptized children; over 7 of their 15 millions attended services conducted in languages other than English. Baptists reckoned only those who had received " believers' baptism." Non-communicant children were excluded from the totals of the Methodists, Lutherans, Presbyterians, and Episcopalians. Church membership grew during the years 1906-1916 faster than the population. Roman Catholics, who, it must be remembered, received vast accessions from Southern and Central Europe, increased by 10 per cent., the other bodies by 17 to 28 per cent.

Roman Catholics are outside the scope of the book. The author notes their great influence in that they cover the ground and have a national policy and outlook. Protestants suffer from excessive individualism and the absence of a permanent executive. Protestantism tends to become the religion of the prosperous. Its divisions are not being healed. The split caused in the Presbyterian, Methodist, and

* By Prof. W. A. Brown. Macmillan. 14s.

Baptist bodies by the Civil War still remains, though the cause of the schism is now mainly theological, the South dreading the liberalism of the North. The Episcopalians have an influence out of proportion to their numbers owing to the continuity of policy secured by the Episcopate.

The year 1920 saw a tremendous movement in American Church life, the Interchurch World Movement, which set out to survey the whole field at home and abroad, extend religious education, and gain recruits and adequate support for the ministry. A sum of over $200,000,000 was raised, but the machine was too clumsy to function, and in 1921 the movement was abandoned. The failure was due mainly to lack of personnel to manage so vast an enterprise and the absorption of the denominations in their own plans.

A grave defect in Protestantism is its treatment of ministers. Soon after fifty a minister is scrapped, owing to the congregational system. The Episcopalians manage better. No wonder vocations dwindle; though the latest statistics show some improvement. The absence of college-trained recruits is to some extent being compensated for by students of the Bible Institutes, notably at Chicago and Los Angeles. These men are pressing into the ministry. Many of them teach " militant premillenarianism." They challenge the idea of Christianity as social salvation, and teach that the present order in Church and State is doomed —an ecclesiastical counterpart of the I.W.W.

The diagnosis is intensely interesting, the plans for advance rather less so to a non-American reader. The country church, we are told, is often in a parlous state. Thus Ohio in 1918 had one church for every 280 of the population, and two-thirds of the churches had no resident pastor. Three methods of reunion are discussed: (*a*) *The Union Church.* This might lead to yet another denomination. (*b*) *Federation of Churches.* But it is discouraging to learn that in 1810 this was actually arranged by the Congregationalists and Presbyterians, who found the plan unworkable. (*c*) *One denomination functioning for the whole community.* The proposed concordat of Congregationalists and Episcopalians is a step in this direction. " This is an arrangement by which, without sacrificing his standing as a Congregational minister, a man may receive Episcopal ordination for the purpose of ministering to those Episcopalians in his congregation who desire to receive the sacrament from a priest of their own community " (p. 211).

Professor Brown urges the extension and strengthening of the inter-denominational bodies. At present all central bodies in America are weak. Churches, like cities and states, " have preferred to suffer the tyranny of irresponsible bosses whose acts they could disown, rather than to entrust power to responsible agents whom they could control " (p. 253). Education is the key to the problem. Religion is not taught during the week, except in a few private schools. Half an hour on Sunday is all that the Sunday-schools give.

The book concludes with the sobering reflection that whether America is going to be a blessing to the world or a curse depends on the influence which the Church will exercise in the near future on the national life. " With our vast territory and all but exhaustless natural resources, with our tradition of independence and inventiveness, with the absence of external danger and of the suspicion and fear which accompany such danger, with our young men still largely spared to us, although others have lost their millions, we represent a reservoir of incalculable power for good or incomparable power for harm " (p. 383).

NOTICES

PROGRESS IN RELIGION TO THE CHRISTIAN ERA. By T. R. Glover, Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, and Public Orator in the University. Student Christian Movement, 1922. 10s. 6d.

This series of lectures will sustain, even if it does not increase, Dr. Glover's already great reputation as a student of religious history. If it does not rise to the heights of his great books, *The Jesus of History* and *The Conflict of Religions in the Early Roman Empire*, it is at least sincere, illuminating, and at times brilliant. Its thesis is best expressed in the author's own words: "Men have always intellectualized their religion—inevitably, for man is incurably intellectual. The progress in religion has been made at every stage by the thinkers more than by the mystics, and incomparably more by both than by the adherents of the cults. Faith . . . is always intellectual" (pp. 12, 13).

Dr. Glover rightly sees religious progress in five main tendencies, which he detects both in Hebrew prophecy and in Greek thought: (1) The tendency to regard God as fully personal; (2) the tendency to regard religion and morality as inseparable; (3) the tendency to lay stress upon sin as the greatest of all evils; (4) the tendency to regard human personality as of infinite value; (5) the tendency to believe in a future life, in which all the wrongs of this world will be righted, and God's righteousness finally vindicated.

The writer's thought shows a welcome advance beyond his agnostic contention in *The Jesus of History* that God is unknowable, except as revealed in Jesus ("we only really know God through Jesus," p. 238). He now adheres to the more personable theory of traditional Christianity, that God revealed Himself to man in manifold ways, both through Hebrew prophets and through Greek philosophers, long before the advent of Christ. As to the Hebrew prophets, it seems doubtful whether he is right in classing them primarily as "thinkers." Their knowledge of God seems to have been of a more direct and first-hand type than such a term suggests.

From the standpoint of the historic Church, the main defect of Dr. Glover's treatment of his subject lies in his consistent undervaluing of the sacramental, the sacrificial, the mystical, and the institutional elements in religion. Such phrases as "The mechanical taint of priest and sacrifice," "Prophets emancipate religion, priests enslave it," "Living Faiths are never very orthodox" recur throughout the book. He fails to recognize that the general tendency of the Temple cultus was to deepen the sense of sin, as the impressive ceremonial of the Day of Atonement, and the supreme importance which came to be attached to the sin-offering in the later period, convincingly testify. Moreover, the most spiritual portion of the Old Testament, the Psalter, is much more closely connected with the Temple than with the Synagogue, and must therefore be taken as expressing broadly the ideals of those who framed the cultus. Dr. Glover's high praise of the scribes may perhaps be justified, but he is certainly wrong in regarding them as laymen (p. 24). They were, of course, definitely ordained by the laying on of hands of

other scribes, and claimed a " Mosaic succession " through Joshua, upon whom Moses laid his hands.

The theory that underlies the sacramental view of religion is that it is possible to attain to a closer and more vital union with God than is involved in mere intellectual knowledge, or even in conformity to His will, important as both of these are. Sacramental Christianity, which, after all, is, and always has been, the Christianity of the majority of the followers of Jesus Christ, aims at making Christians " partakers of the divine nature " in a sense distinct from pantheism, but far more mysterious and vital than anything which Dr. Glover's theory of religion admits. Unsacramental Christianity, as advocated in this book, lacks the note of mystery, and fails to appeal to some of the deepest and worthiest of all human instincts.

A word may be added upon the syllabus of the Student Christian Union, of which this book forms part. Practically all the books therein recommended are of a similar liberal and unsacramental type. It is right that such books should be issued and recommended, but they ought to be balanced by other books which reflect more adequately the religious standpoint of the majority of Christians. The Student Christian Union aims at comprehending all sections of genuine Christian thought. It follows that its list of books ought to be varied and comprehensive, not all of one tone and colour, as it is at present.

CHARLES HARRIS.

THE LORD OF THOUGHT: A STUDY OF THE PROBLEMS WHICH CONFRONTED JESUS CHRIST, AND THE SOLUTION HE OFFERED. By Lily Dougall and Cyril W. Emmet, M.A., B.D. London, Student Christian Movement. 1922. 12s. 6d. net.

Fashion, as well as love, " rules the court, the camp, the grove," and also, though this is sometimes forgotten, theological speculation. It has been the fashion of late years, and especially since the publication of Schweitzer's *Quest of the Historical Jesus*, to explain a good part of our Lord's teaching in the Gospels on the supposition that He, being influenced by the apocalyptic writings current in His time, was expecting the end of the age to come very speedily. Signs are not wanting now that this " fashion " is passing away, and this book is an indication of the fact. Its theme is to show the originality of Jesus by denying the supposed influence of the apocalyptic literature of pre-Christian Judaism upon it, and by asserting that He " made an original discovery " about God.

The book consists of three parts, for the first two of which Miss Dougall is responsible, the third being the work of Mr. Emmet. We have found it as a whole interesting and suggestive, but unconvincing. The first part is " a brief review of the Jewish books which reflect the belief of the generation in which Jesus lived "—that is to say, of the best-known apocalyptic books. With these the writer does not seem to have any profound first-hand acquaintance. She writes, for example (p. 24), that these books " were written, collected, edited, and re-edited, copied and translated in the many languages spoken in Syria and Egypt." What languages does she mean ? Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek would perhaps exhaust the list. Her dates would exclude later translations, such as the Ethiopic *Enoch*, even if Ethiopic were ever spoken in Syria

or Egypt. At the same time this first part may be said to give a good outline of the chief ideas of the apocalyptists in general.

The subject of the second part is thus summarized in its opening paragraphs (p. 113):

> "We propose to try to discover what was original to him *by first distinguishing and setting aside* those elements of the teaching as recorded which, *whether actually part of his message or not*, certainly did not originate with him, and which . . . may have filtered into the record from contemporary thought."*

The italics are ours. The second clause italicized seems to be mere "hedging," for no notice is taken of it afterwards; the first clause in italics shows the method of *a priori* criticism adopted. Much more might be proved by the same method. If you "distinguish and set aside" certain "elements of the teaching" of any teacher, you can make him teach, or omit to teach, pretty well what you please.

Part III. contains an attempt by Mr. Emmet to justify the exclusion from the teaching of Christ of those passages of the Gospels detrimental to this *a priori* theory. It is somewhat amusing to notice the "ascending scale" of affirmation by which this attempt is described in the book itself. In her text on p. 10 Miss Dougall writes:

> "The third part . . . shows how far sober critical examination of the Synoptic Gospels . . . justifies our hypothesis, and how far the present results of such examination point to its complete justification."

Annexed to this in the margin we find "Critical corroboration"; but when we pass on to the title of the third part (p. 225), we find "Critical Verification." Such a description is not lacking in boldness. "Attempted Justification" would be a far better title. If this was meant, why not so write?

Naturally there is in Part III., as there is in all that comes from Mr. Emmet's pen, much that is suggestive, and much from which all can learn. Readers will do well to look up, however, the context of the references given to see if they support the conclusions which are drawn. For example, we are told (p. 241) about the Parable of the Tares that "the whole explanation is probably a later addition . . . and can hardly have emanated from Jesus." The same line of argument would rob us of the parable also, for it, too, contains the allusion to the "fire" into which the tares are to be cast. That the tares are to be burnt in the fire must mean something. It is not, we think, sufficient to say that this is "imagery proper to the setting of the story."

The book, like all the publications of the S.C.M., is well produced, and has but few misprints. Siccarii (p. 138 *bis*) looks ugly and suggests a wrong derivation. The price of the book seems much too high, if a wide circulation is desired.

J. M. HARDEN.

* It will be noticed that in this quotation and throughout the book the pronouns referring to our Lord are not printed with initial capitals, though those used to denote God are.

A Guide to the Divine Liturgy in the East. By Athelstan Riley, M.A., F.S.A. Pp. xvi+94. A. R. Mowbray and Co. 3s. 6d.

Service-Book of the Holy Orthodox-Catholic Apostolic Church. Compiled, translated, and arranged from the old Church-Slavonic books of the Russian Church, and collated with the service-books of the Greek Church. By Isabel Florence Hapgood. Revised edition, with endorsement by Patriarch Tikhon. Pp. xl+616. Association Press, New York. $3.50.

At last Mr. Riley has given us the long-promised companion book to his well-known *Guide to High Mass Abroad*. Those who use this book when assisting at the Greek or Russian or Serbian Liturgy will find that Mr. Riley has certainly succeeded in making the beautiful but complicated Liturgy of St. Chrysostom intelligible to those unaccustomed to it. His Introduction, and the foot-notes on the history of the rite and the various survivals from primitive times, render the book valuable and interesting, apart from its use in church; and many of the prayers will be found useful for private devotion, especially before and after Communion. Mr. Riley's former book was a guide to High Mass *abroad*. Many of us feel strongly that loyalty forbids us to assist at Roman Catholic services in the British Isles: not from any rigid theory of jurisdiction, but because the Roman See claims for its modern hierarchy sole jurisdiction here, and directs an active and skilful campaign against the ancient Catholic Church of the country. We need feel no such scruples about assisting at Orthodox services in England. The Greek Archbishop of Thyatira, who has recently set up his throne in Bayswater, is here with the full approval of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, and claims no jurisdiction over any but his own flock: while the Russians worship in a church presented to them by the Bishop of London. Mr. Riley's book will enable many of us to join in the offering of the Holy Sacrifice by our Eastern fellow-Catholics at St. Sophia Cathedral, Moscow Road, Bayswater, at St. Philip's, Buckingham Palace Road, or at the Greek churches in Manchester and Cardiff.

Miss Hapgood's book is a translation, not only of the Orthodox Liturgy, but also of the Proper of the chief festivals, the Ordinal, Occasional Offices, and part of Mattins, Vespers, and Compline, for the use of those Orthodox Americans who, in accordance with Eastern custom, use the vernacular (in this case English) in their services. It is sanctioned by the heroic Patriarch Tikhon of Moscow, whose courage under persecution has won the admiration of us all: and contains a clear description, with illustrations, of the Eastern vestments and ornaments. The Order for the Reception of Converts is particularly interesting, for it shows the Orthodox attitude towards the Roman, Lutheran, and other communions.

C. B. Moss.

Les Penseurs de l'Islam. Tome I. Les Souverains, l'Histoire et la Philosophie Politique. Tome II. Les Géographes, les Sciences Mathématiques et Naturelles. Baron Carra de Vaux. Paris: Geuthner, 1921.

That the "Thinkers of Islam" should include its sovereigns, geographers, and alchemists shows that the intention of this work is wider than its title. It is in reality a handbook of Islamic culture, and as

such deals mainly with the Middle Ages, when that culture was an element in the world's progress. The aim of the compilation is to familiarize the modern Frenchman, whose country has such a large stake in the fortunes of present-day Islam, with the various facets of its life in their historical aspect. In so doing the characteristic Moslem strain in politics, arts, and sciences is brought out, for, as the author says in his Preface, the whole literature is impregnated by certain lines of thought, legal, moral, or mystical, and the lives, even of the most ferocious conquerors, are marked by certain intellectual conceptions of justice and civilization. Tamerlane, whose hands dripped with blood, spared a few persons from the massacre of Damascus, artists, workmen, and scholars, whom he sent to Samarkand, where he founded a university and built a palace and splendid monuments.

To bring out the principal figures, the master-works, and the leading ideas from the mass of material is no easy task. Baron de Vaux has grappled with the difficulty manfully, and not without success, though the reader feels, as a certain student did of Dr. Johnson's dictionary, that it is "interesting but disconnected." We look forward with interest to the third volume (on exegesis and jurisprudence), the fourth (on philosophy, theology, and mysticism), and the fifth (on the sects and modern liberalism). Will Islam evolve a modern philosophy?

H. U. Weitbrecht Stanton.

Christian Justice. By Norman L. Robinson, M.A. The Swarthmore Press. 6s. 6d. net.

The author of this book, in common with many others, has been perturbed in mind by the moral issues raised in the Great War. "Spectres of the mind," never wholly absent, were then made haunting and obtrusive, and these have not been laid by "the strange thing we call a Peace." In seeking for sure foundations his mind has rested on the transitional questions of "Christianity and Compromise," "Justice and Love," and has finally settled on the hope of baptizing the idea of justice into Christ as the only solid rock on which our house of faith can be built. Hence this book. The idea of justice, it contends, as presented in ordinary Christian thought, lacks the element of the true Christian valuation of personality, and so is too abstract and fails to allow for its presence in the life of individuals and states.

Christian justice cannot ignore personality, and, unlike retributive justice, which looks chiefly to the past, must deal with character rather than with acts. Justice in the teaching of Jesus Christ is always redemptive, though sin brings its own retribution, and has a stern side which implies judgment.

The older discussions of the Cross on the legal plane which left an irreconcilable conflict between justice and love in the divine nature are rejected for the view which sees in the Cross a revelation of the Father's love and compassion. Whilst vicarious suffering cannot be eliminated from the experience of life, there is a moral order which declares that goodness is the true meaning of personality, and evil the denial of that meaning.

When the author seeks to apply these principles of Christian justice to the life of to-day, he is supplying material for the present-day effort to establish Christian citizenship.

In the past the conflict between employer and employed has been waged between mutually opposing organizations. The only hope of improvement rests upon personal influence bringing about a more general acceptance of Christian conduct on both sides.

Our author has a word to say on the importance of building the education of children from the earliest years upon moral foundations. In this we are in full accord with him, and we gravely mistrust those who seek to recommend an education which allows a child to follow its own bent and to do nothing which it does not wish to do. Here is a truth obscured by theory. Whilst it is right to develop the natural gifts of a child, the only sure foundation of moral training is "Thou shalt" and "Thou shalt not." The child taught in early years to follow only its own inclinations grows into a wilful, obstinate, and unnatural man or woman, who definitely refuses correction and drifts into moral ruin.

THE PROPHETIC MINISTRY TO-DAY. By Charles D. Williams. Macmillan and Co. 7s. 6d. net.

The writer of these Lyman Beecher-Gale Lectures for 1920 seeks in the words of his Preface to disarm literary criticism in view of his own strenuous life. We think his description of a bishop's life in America a little exaggerated in its necessary want of time for thought. It is possible for a man to live a very busy life, and yet by method to retain time for leisure and to preserve a quiet spirit. We judge the bishop to be a man of fervid temperament, but this is often the secret of successful preaching. His apology for his book as no more than "a feast of broken meats" is unnecessary. There are many kinds of literary excellence, and lucidity coupled with evident sincerity will recommend writings which do not bear the test of classical standards. In introducing the book we confine ourselves to two characteristic chapters: (1) The Prophetic Succession; (2) Prophet and Priest.

The writer regards the prophetic succession as "at once the basic and noblest element in our composite ministry."

He sees in the Hebrew prophet the lineaments of a family likeness to the Christian preacher. The pretensions of "the ignorance from the streets" or "the juvenile prodigy" excite in him a healthy scorn. He tells us that his extensive experience of preaching leads him to say that "the ministry of [preaching] has a plentiful supply of babes and sucklings at present, and most of these give no particular evidence of having received any special revelation or attained extraordinary spiritual wisdom." Words like these which follow should go home to the hearts of some popular preachers: "He talks so much about it [the devotional life] to others that he gets to imagine he has practised it in talking about it."

The words on the relation of Prophet and Priest are as forcible as many others in the book. The Priest must remain as the leader of public worship, and his duties appeal to those whose religion is largely formal and practised apart from its influence on conduct. The Church's need is real worship which appeals to the whole man in mind and heart. The devout worshipper in search of this meets too often with a mechanical rendering of ritual on the one hand, and on the other with vulgar and irreverent extempore prayer.

These brief extracts will show that the book is no dull philosophical treatise, but a living book speaking in living language.

HENRY LOWTHER CLARKE (*Bishop*).

THE LATIN AND IRISH LIVES OF CIARAN. Translated and annotated by R. A. Stewart Macalister, Litt.D., F.S.A. S.P.C.K. 1921. Pp. 190. 10s. net.

St. Ciaran of Clonmacnois, to be distinguished from his well-known namesake of Saighir, occupies an important place among Irish Saints, both for his outstanding monastic university on the Shannon, and for the esteem felt for his character and life by his fellow-countrymen. Dr. Macalister here provides excellent translations of the four Lives, three Latin and one Irish, documents written primarily for purposes of edification and containing much legendary material, influenced, as usual, by Biblical facts, such as that which makes Ciaran the son of a carpenter and die at the age of thirty-three. In his valuable annotations, the author examines the matter common to all four Lives, and gives copious parallels to the deeds of Ciaran. This residue-method, if we may call it so, is not without its dangers, but Dr. Macalister's annotations are eminently sound and wise in their criticism, and form what is certainly the most instructive and useful portion of his work, being rich in suggestions valuable to the student of folk-lore as well as to the student of hagiography. The first Latin Life is translated from Plummer's *Vitæ Sanctorum Hiberniæ* (I., pp. 200-216), which Dr. Macalister has re-collated with the MS. (Marsh's Library, Dublin—early fifteenth century), and to which he provides (p. 6) a useful list of corrections. The second is here transcribed, from two Bodleian MSS., for the first time *in extenso*.

This work can be heartily welcomed, and commended as much for its method as its matter. In the full and useful Index, correct, s.v. "finger," 59 to 39. P. 183, read *ab excelsi . . . arce poli;* p. 113, is the *in circo uituli* to be explained by Georgic 3, 166 ?

J. H. BAXTER.

PERSONAL RELIGION AND POLITICS. By W. H. Carnegie, Sub-Dean of Westminster Abbey, Rector of St. Margaret's, Westminster, and Speaker's Chaplain of the House of Commons. London: John Murray. 1920. Pp. x+156. 6s. net.

THE GUIDANCE OF JESUS FOR TO-DAY: BEING AN ACCOUNT OF THE TEACHING OF JESUS FROM THE STANDPOINT OF MODERN PERSONAL AND SOCIAL NEED. By Cecil John Cadoux, M.A., D.D. London: Allen and Unwin. 1920. Pp. 178. 7s. 6d. net.

These two volumes both deal with problems of Christian conduct, though not with the scientific methods of "Moral Theology." They are concerned to show the uniqueness of Christian morality and its bearing upon pressing questions of the day. Canon Carnegie has one chapter on the Christian Attitude in Politics, but apart from that his book is mainly concerned with more personal aspects of life and their relation to Christian conviction. The book is homiletic in tone, but well written, and the thought is always clear. Dr. Cadoux strikes a different note. The author holds a reduced or Ritschlian Christology, and has no use for dogma or miracles. Consequently he approaches current problems in morality with a heavy handicap. As our Lord is, for him, simply the supreme prophetic teacher, he is obliged to treat the Gospel message as consisting mainly in a code of moral laws. Under the limitations of this point of view he examines our Lord's teaching

with painstaking sincerity. He insists on the highest standard in regard to Christian matrimony, and he is also a thorough-going pacifist in his attitude to war. On other matters he is prepared to admit some elements of compromise. As to the application of Christian principles to commerce and industry he confesses frankly his perplexity. It is difficult to understand Dr. Cadoux's confidence in the adequacy of his gospel. It seems to belong to a barren and bankrupt tradition.

L. S. Thornton, C.R.

A History of Sinai. By Lina Eckenstein. S.P.C.K. Pp. 202. 8s. 6d.

Miss Eckenstein is an archæologist who has had the advantage of working with Dr. Flinders Petrie in Sinai, and has given us a most interesting book based on what she herself has seen there. She goes a long way back and begins her history in the middle of the sixth millennium B.C. She traces the successive occupations of Egyptian, Christian, and Moslem down to the present day—even to the point when the Turkish forces were driven out of the peninsula in 1917.

The section of her book which will arouse most interest is naturally that which deals with the Israelites in Sinai. Perhaps not many Old Testament students would accept her account of the giving of the Law, but there can be no doubt that her position demands consideration, especially her location of the scene. The actual position of Sinai (or Horeb ?) has been a matter of much dispute, and the traditional site on the Gebel Musa is generally discarded. Miss Eckenstein advances the claims of a site which is new to us, that of the very ancient sanctuary at Serabit.

There are many other useful features in this book. It has a good index, and is well illustrated with photographs of important objects, ancient and modern. Mention must also be made of the really good maps and plans, especially of Serabit and of the surrounding district.

T. H. Robinson.

Essays in Biblical Interpretation. Professor Henry Preserved Smith. Allen and Unwin. Pp. 198. 10s. 6d.

The history of Biblical interpretation begins, says Professor H. P. Smith, with the very free interpretations of the Targums, and with the Tradition of the Elders whose legalistic outlook, as our Lord said, made "the word of God of none effect." In the hands of Philo and others in contact with Greek thought the allegorical method was brought into play, and was further elaborated by the apologists of the early Church in their search for Christ throughout the Old Testament. The method has not yet passed into disuse. The same principle, with its fourfold senses, was carried further by the Scholastics, who used both literal and allegorical interpretations for the building up of the concept of the medieval Church as the visible kingdom of God, an "interpretation according to a doctrinal system assumed at the outset." With the Reformation, Luther and others developed the work of a few students who had worked for a literal interpretation, and appealed to the Bible itself against a system of doctrine assumed to be built upon it. The followers of the early reformers substituted for the scholastic authority a view of the Bible which held that "one and the same doctrine had

been in the Church from the beginning of the world to the present time." But each school of thought interpreted this Bible to prove its own doctrinal system again assumed at the outset. The doctrine of verbal inspiration was formulated, and the original motive of textual criticism was to ascertain what had been inspired. Thence Professor Smith traces, in the hands of Francke and his school, the re-emergence of the Bible as a book of religion rather than a storehouse of dogmas, and also the rise of the tendencies and studies which finally produce the present school of historical criticism to which he himself belongs, and with the conclusions of which the last three chapters are concerned. One or two statements in these chapters would, however, hardly have been allowed to pass in a Biblical author. Is Loisy still to be accounted a "loyal member" of the Roman Catholic Church? (p. 143). From pp. 151, 152 it would appear that Ezekiel gave a detailed regulation on the subjects of the Holy of Holies, the High Priest, and Day of Atonement. Except in Ezekiel xli. 4: "This is the most holy place," none of the three is mentioned. "Ezekiel was a priest" (so was Jeremiah) and so believed that the "people were punished for violation of ritual." But whenever Ezekiel comes down to details in his denunciations, the sins he attacks are social, and the worship on high places is denounced, not as violation of ritual, but as apostasy. On p. 174 it is stated that "in all other cases" except that of the red heifer the sin-offering must be a male. But Leviticus iv. 28, 32, and v. 6 definitely prescribe a female for a sin-offering in certain cases. Again, on p. 158 it is Dr. Smith and not the Chronicler who reckons Abijah as a prophet. There are other points which might be noted, but the book remains a very readable summary of a vast and deeply interesting subject.

M. D. R. Willink.

The Dialogue of Palladius concerning the Life of Chrysostom. Translated by Herbert Moore. S.P.C.K. 8s. 6d.

Considering the expense of production, one has no quarrel with the publisher on the score of price, and the subject is so interesting that readers ought to be found for Mr. Moore's translation. For this Dialogue is one of the rare books in patristic literature which is a human document. An unnamed Eastern Bishop, one of the partisans of the banished, and already deceased, John Chrysostom, arrives in Rome. A deacon, named Theodorus, asks him to tell the real facts about the deposition and exile of the Bishop of Constantinople. The Bishop, who is almost certainly Palladius, the author of the history of the Lausiac monks, does so; and the deacon plies him with questions as to the motives and discretion of the saint.

The life of John of the golden mouth, the greatest of the Byzantine bishops, is a far less familiar story than it deserves to be. Many saints owe their fame to dogmatic or ecclesiastical controversies which are hard to understand, and almost impossible to sympathize with to-day. The career of John Chrysostom is one which cannot fail to appeal to all Christians. He made his reputation as a preacher at Antioch, where he displayed the eloquence of the Greek Church in its highest excellence. He was removed by pious force and fraud to Constantinople, where he enhanced his reputation as a pulpit orator and set himself to reform the richest and perhaps the most corrupt Christian Church of his age. As

an expounder of Scripture he is distinguished, not so much for his profundity as by his practical good sense. As an administrator, if he made mistakes and enemies, it was owing to his zeal for righteousness, his pity for the poor, and his desire for the purity of the Church. On account of the unpopularity he incurred at Constantinople for his fearless rebuke of sin, and because he had provoked Theophilus of Alexandria by his kindness to the Long Brothers, Chrysostom was deposed and exiled to various remote spots in Asia Minor, and the ill-treatment he received hastened his end.

His life and writings are valuable as illustrative of his time, the end of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth century, and show us how already it was impossible for a truly great man to continue long as Bishop of Constantinople, owing to the intrigues of the imperial Court. Chrysostom is also emphatically one who was persecuted for righteousness' sake. The book should be widely read if only for the interest of the subject. Why does the translator render *Basileus* by "King"? He carefully explains that the word at this time means Emperor. Byzantine writers often, when they speak of a king, transliterate the Latin word *rex,* and use *basileus* of the emperor. But because in the Greek grammar *basileus*=king, Arcadius is called a king, though he never was one. Such is translators' pedantry.

F. J. Foakes-Jackson.

Redemption from this World; or, The Supernatural in Christianity. By A. G. Hogg, M.A. T. and T. Clark. 1922. Pp. xvi+278. 7s. 6d. net.

That there is real need of a thorough-going exploration of the meaning of the supernatural, and that the comparative inattention to the need leaves a curious gap in the theology of our time, will be generally admitted. Professor Hogg, in this series of Cunningham Lectures, set himself the task of dealing with this situation, and it may be said at once that he has made a serious and very suggestive contribution towards the elucidation of the idea of the supernatural or the miraculous (he treats the terms as practically equivalent for religion), which deserves to be studied both by the student of the New Testament and by the philosopher. The first part of the book is largely an examination of apocalyptical conceptions of the world-order and of the coming age, and of our Lord's attitude towards them. We may recall at this point von Dobschütz's phrase, "transmuted eschatology." Professor Hogg also makes much of the element of change which our Lord's eschatological outlook contained, but of change in comparison with the "half-heartedness" not the "extravagance" of Jewish apocalyptic. He believed and acted on the belief that God was ready, then and there, to bring in the New Age. And in this faith, which was the most living confidence that the redemptive resources of God were available, whenever they were necessary, He worked the miracles which were mighty proofs that the last days had dawned, and that the kingdom of God was about to come; in the interests of the kingdom of the future the miracles were "as it were, preliminary raids upon the doomed Kingdom of the dark present." They were anticipatory of the coming regeneration, and the regeneration came; a change passed over the age then present, but not the whole of the change to which He had looked forward; there was no regeneration of nature. In

this expectation Jesus had been at one with apocalyptic thought as a whole. Where He radically differed from it was in refusing to treat the existent world-age as evil and incapable of redemption. And this refusal was due to the reality and activity of His faith in the Father.

It is this conviction of the natural order as capable of redemption through the breaking down of barriers within it which Professor Hogg uses when he passes to the philosophical treatment of the miraculous. And a distinction is drawn between the real order of nature, that rational whole which expresses the will of God and the order of nature as imperfectly experienced and understood by men. Of the real order any miraculous contravention is impossible; but if its content is altogether richer than we apprehend when we keep our attention fixed on the cosmic order which we with our inevitable limitations have constructed, there is nothing to hinder us from believing that it holds powers which can be used and which, in relation to the world-order as we understand it, are truly miraculous. From this standpoint the miraculous is the præternatural, but more than that must be said, since the miraculous is the answer of God to the faith which, in the service of God's Kingdom, calls upon God for whatever help is necessary in a particular situation. Miracle, therefore, combines the characteristic of the supernatural and of special providences, and is never to be understood by means of any formula which enshrines notions of law. The miraculous is always individual, and no generalization is possible in connection with it. But the miraculous is always possible for the Church if in the fulfilment of her vocation the need is real, and the faith which works through the intuition of God's will sufficient.

I should regard as the two outstanding merits of the book, in respect of the scientific treatment of the subject, the framing of an intelligible distinction between the natural and the supernatural which, at the same time, avoids the dangers of a rigid dualism, and a reaction from the hard-worked attempt to explain miracles by introducing the idea of the operation of " higher law." The danger involved for the religious understanding of miracle when this notion is accepted outweighs any conceivable philosophical gain which may thereby be achieved. The earlier chapters of the book represent a balance (not a compromise) between the elimination and the over-emphasizing of the apocalyptic element in the Gospels. Where there seems to be need for a further examination is as to the relationship between miracle and our Lord's consciousness of Messianic vocation. Is this last fact the key, and is the greatness of His faith to be seen against the background of an expected but unfulfilled transmutation of His human nature which should enable Him to respond to the call to the Messianic office? Professor Hogg has not in such matters avoided all the perils which beset the path of him whose work must proceed in part at least by the method of conjectural reconstruction, but even considerable divergence from him in points which are more than points of detail would not be destructive of the main tenor and central message of the book.

J. K. Mozley.

The Epistle to the Hebrews. By E. F. Scott. T. and T. Clark. 8s.

Professor Scott, a British scholar, now a professor in New York, is known to many by his fine book on the Fourth Gospel, which, following in the main the lead of recent Continental criticism, gave English readers

a new standpoint from which to view Johannine problems. Perhaps the special merit of the book was the way in which it attempted to make the gospel stand out against a background of contemporary Church life. The present thesis dealing with the Hebrews is less brilliant but more mature, and will influence criticism for many years to come. It is written with full knowledge of the available literature, but no scholar's name is even mentioned, except in the Preface. Refreshing as it is to be spared a parade of learning, probably a book of this kind would have been strengthened by some reference to fellow-workers. The argument will be summarized as briefly as possible, though such treatment is unsatisfactory, since there are no unnecessary words, and every sentence contributes something to the building up of the thesis.

The date of Hebrews is not earlier than 70 or later than 85. The author and his readers belong to the second or third generation (ii. 3). The author has been plausibly conjectured to be Apollos, but there were not a few of his type, and conjecture is inevitably vain. The document is a homily, to which words of remembrance and greeting are appended. The inscription "To the Hebrews" was added at an early date by a scribe on the strength of the *prima facie* evidence of the contents.

Rome is far the most likely destination. The Epistle of Clement, which makes considerable use of Hebrews, strongly favours this conclusion. The Neronian persecution was now past history; the *existing community* had not yet resisted unto blood. The absence of polemic and mysticism is appropriate to Rome. The epistle was addressed to "an inner circle of men who aspired to be teachers, and were aiming at deeper insight into their Christian faith" (p. 14). At this period the Jewish controversy was a thing of the past. There was no danger of apostasy to Judaism. The epistle deals with the Tabernacle as presented in the Old Testament, not with the actual Temple. There is no allusion to differences between Jews and Gentiles. The community presupposed is one in which the barriers between Jew and Gentile have disappeared. "A new Israel had arisen, united solely by the bonds of spiritual fellowship, and had entered into the promises which had been made to the fathers" (p. 19).

The danger of the readers is slothfulness and indifference, not apostasy to Judaism; the exhaustion and reaction inevitable after a great spiritual movement had supervened. The writer presents Christianity as the final religion; he sees it specially as the perfect worship. The only side of the old covenant emphasized is that of worship. A teacher writes to teachers, conveying a *gnosis*—the word is used in no invidious sense—to the initiate (*cf.* 1 Cor. ii. 6). In no sense is he an innovator; rather he goes the whole way with the Church, and presupposes the foundation principles and "the confession."

The writer is untouched by specifically Pauline doctrine, and presents the paradox of one who is at once very primitive and distinctively Alexandrian. He is primitive, for he detects no break in the history of God's people, regarding the Church as one with Israel; preserves an early type of eschatology, unco-ordinated with his peculiar theology; displays a primitive absence of sacramental theory and an acquaintance with the ideas underlying Stephen's speech in Acts vii.; and cherishes memories of the early life of Jesus. Yet his kinship with Philo, in spite of noteworthy differences, is obvious.

The writer builds on the Old Testament literally interpreted and

ascribes ultimate value to Jewish ordinances merely because they are in Scripture. "The approach to God in which religion consists is regarded as an act of worship, and is described in the language of Old Testament ritual" (p. 79). There is no contrast of Judaism with Christianity as of lower with higher. He assumes that there is only one divinely instituted religion, which has now attained its consummation. But Christianity thereby becomes little more than a reformed Judaism, and Christ's work is emptied of significance. The teaching is set in the traditional apocalyptic framework, but the conception of two ages is displaced by that of two worlds. Why should the High Priest come again? If he has already entered the Holy of Holies on our behalf, there is no room for a Parousia. Salvation is here and now rather than in the future. The two presentations are left side by side without being reconciled.

The Resurrection is mentioned once only, in xiii. 20. It had to be kept in the background, since the earthly and heavenly lives of Jesus were continuous; He passed straight from the Cross to heaven. Christ, it is implied, was one of the angels—"a heavenly being, whom God had chosen out for sovereign honour" (p. 166). There are other conceptions of His nature, but they are woven together without regard for consistency.

The epistle is of great value, as showing unconsidered elements in the first century. Christianity already had a past; spiritual exhaustion had set in; many cultured men were entering the Church. We see the Apostolic Church transforming itself into the later Catholic Church. Much of the imagery is now obsolete, but the implicit Platonism awakens many echoes in the modern world.

Bishop Westcott and most English writers take Hebrews as having been written to a community of Jewish Christians shortly before 70 A.D., bidding them break once for all with their ancestral faith. Professor Nairne writes with full knowledge of the modern view, as Professor Scott's may be called, but rejects it as superficial, and follows Westcott. Windisch, in his great commentary (1913), takes the same general line as E. F. Scott, but rules out Rome as the destination. Zahn long ago suggested that the recipients were a "Hausgemeinde" in Rome, but composed of Jews. The modern view was ably but very shortly presented to English readers by von Soden in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*. It had always seemed to me so plausible that I was surprised to find Professor Nairne giving it such scant attention in his Cambridge Commentary. In many ways the value of Hebrews is enhanced if it was intended as a Catholic Epistle from the first, not addressed to a fast disappearing body of Judaisers, but to a representative group of Christians who had transcended the distinction between Jew and Gentile.

If Professor Scott's arguments seem to me on the whole convincing (though I must own to being temperamentally at the mercy of the last good book I read), details are open to serious criticism. For example, his treatment of Christology on p. 157, "But in the very passages where this sovereign rank of the Son is most plainly asserted, it is implied that while raised above the angels he was in some sense one of them. On a day in eternity God had chosen him from among his fellows, and had commanded them to worship him." Even supposing that such an interpretation were possible, it is a safe rule that a doubtful passage in the New Testament should be interpreted by other passages—that is, by the general faith of the Church. Again, on p. 202, Professor Scott suggests that the author "may be silently protesting against the growing sacramentalism

of his time. It nowhere appears that the Sacraments have any vital import for him; indeed, the ordinance of the Lord's supper is not even mentioned." On these lines of argument had the Resurrection of Christ been mentioned not at all, instead of once only, the author might have been depicted as silently protesting against the doctrine! But the Resurrection of the dead, which no Christian could ever have dissociated from the Resurrection of Christ, was actually a foundation (vi. 2). It is incredible that a writer who regarded baptism and the laying-on of hands as foundations was silently protesting against the increasing honour paid to the Eucharist. And in the light of the early liturgies and other primitive documents with which so good a scholar as Professor Scott must be very familiar, what manner of service does he think took place when the recipients of Hebrews "assembled together" (x. 25)?

W. K. L. CLARKE.

ON WHAT AUTHORITY? A Review of the Foundations of Christian Faith. By the Right Rev. Edmund Arbuthnott Knox, D.D., late Bishop of Manchester. Longmans. 1922. 7s. 6d. net.

This book is intended as "a contribution from what is commonly described as Evangelical Churchmanship." A large portion of it is concerned with the authority of the Old Testament, and is directed against the modern critical view of its composition. It is urged that "if the critics are right in dating the Priestly Code after the Exile, it displays not progress, but reaction" (p. 171). It would mean that we should be witnessing "the triumph of sacerdotalism over prophecy." The prophetic utterance, "Bring no more vain oblations: incense is an abomination unto Me," is quoted as proof that the religion of the prophets was inward, whereas that of the priests was external; and that the prophets wanted to reform the sacrificial ceremonial out of existence, and to replace it by a simple inward devotion. But the quotation given from Isaiah is not complete. Attention should be called to the fact that what is denounced is not only the incense and the oblations, but also the sabbath day and the meeting for prayer; a fact which might lead to a modification of the inference; for it is not suggested that the prophets desire to abolish the prayer-meeting or the Sabbath day. And if the 51st Psalm is added, which is assuredly an unsurpassed outpouring of inward devotion, yet ends with a resolve to offer an external oblation, the conclusion might well be reached that what the prophets denounce is not the external as such, but the external expression divorced from the inward spirit. In which case the prophetic and the priestly views of religion are not mutually exclusive, but supplementary aspects of corporate devotion.

Another objection raised in this book against the modern critical view of the Old Testament is that it exalts the intellectual at the expense of the spiritual. Complaint is made that "the debt which the world owes to the uncriticized Bible is too often overlooked"; and that in many critics "there is perceptible . . . the influence of the spirit that set out to destroy Bibliolatry, and that rejoices too often in its achievement" (p. 223).

A warning against the dangers of mere intellectualism is certainly required. Criticism is not religion. And the passage from the former to the latter is not always successfully effected. But after all criticism has its place, as the author himself has illustrated. For it is by no means

an uncriticized Bible which he presents for our use. Indeed, he insists in the plainest terms that "We do not really honour God by making Him responsible either for the science or for the statements of fact contained in the Bible. The science was honest science in its day. The facts were honestly recorded. But the science and record were the science and record of fallible men" (p. 209).

And further than this, the author has outlined in forcible expressions the incongruities both moral and theological which the Old Testament contains. He speaks of "the strange intermingling of the loftiest conceptions of God with the ascription to Him, as well of wrathful passion as of trifling interferences in the ordinary life of man." From "the slaughter of the Midianites . . ., the treachery of Jael, the cold-blooded butchery of Agag, down to the massacre of the Prophets of Baal, and the vengeance on the children who mocked Elisha, we are constantly face to face with a terrible God, to Whose personal act or to Whose command these merciless punishments are ascribed, or Whose approval of them is implied" (p. 211).

It is not, then, an uncriticized Bible which is offered us in this book.

One would have thought that the inevitable inference from these criticisms on Old Testament imperfections would be that different passages vary in their value for edification, and that consequently a revised lectionary, based on this acknowledgment, would be desirable. But the author does not take this view. He objects to regarding the Old Testament as the record of a progressive revelation (p. 163). He also holds that the withdrawal of large portions of the Old Testament from public use has left the inpression on the public mind that they are "relics of a superseded revelation."

The book contains a very severe judgment on confession to a priest. "The Christian world is subjected to a priestly class which, after all, is drawn from sinful humanity, and subject to the temptations of the world, the flesh, and the Spirit of Evil. Angels might be expected to fall if they were subjected to such a burden. For human nature it is wholly intolerable. Such success as has attended the system has been due to its conscientious use by those who, humanly speaking, least stood in need of it" (p. 244).

This will be painful reading to some whom this practice has saved from many sins, and who therefore know by experience its worth. It is strangely different from the Reformation sentence, "requiring such as shall be satisfied with a general confession not to be offended with them that use, to their further satisfying, the auricular and secret confession to the priest . . . but in all things to follow and keep the rule of charity."

It is needless to say that the book, like everything from the gifted writer's pen, is full of acute criticism and pungent sentences. If we may venture to express a wish it is that the author would give us, what he could do with such power and effectiveness, an exposition of the Atonement as an Offering presented before the Father. The brief passage in which he deals with the doctrine of Propitiation makes us wish for more.

W. J. Sparrow Simpson.

FIFTY PICTURES OF GOTHIC ALTARS. By P. Dearmer. Mowbray. 21s.

Dr. Dearmer has reissued this book, which was published originally by the Alcuin Club in 1910. It is a joy to those who care for mediæval art, though, as those interested in the controversial side of the subject are fewer than formerly, the purchasers may not be numerous. "The Battle of the Uses" seems to be ending in favour of the Roman Use, and "The English Altar" is generally associated with the English Use. Dr. Dearmer's book may even strengthen the other side. His examples show that the so-called English Altar was found with small variations all over the West, and it is held by many that we are following the spirit of the mediæval Church of England when, in things indifferent, we assimilate our services as closely as possible to the rest of the Western Church.

On æsthetic grounds there can hardly be two opinions as regards the superiority of mediæval taste, as shown in these fifty pictures. The simplicity and reticence of the arrangements are remarkable. There seem to be six instances only of the Cross on the altar against eleven of the Cross as part of the reredos; none of the Cross in both places. Two candles are seen on seventeen altars, one only on four. There is no example of a gradine or shelf. The missal rests on a cushion three times, on a desk six. Riddels are always at right angles with the altar, the appearance of their spreading outwards being due to faulty perspective. Some allowance must be made for the fact that some of the pictures represent altars out of service time, when ornaments were often put away, but even so the simplicity is noteworthy.

THE SUBJECT INDEX TO PERIODICALS, 1920. A. *Theology and Philosophy*. The Library Association. 6s.

When an Association produces a stately volume of 100 pages mentioning the articles contributed to 270 periodicals in one year, the less methodical and laborious world can only gasp in wonder and gratitude. No specialist can afford to neglect this treasure, and libraries are urged to buy it. Now that the difficulties of publishing books have become so acute, the products of research must be published mainly in periodicals. Many of the subscribers to THEOLOGY take in no other theological magazine, thinking in their innocence that they are being kept up to date. But 269 periodicals remain, each of which may contain something they want! A specimen entry shows the thoroughness of the method:

CHELTENHAM: DISSENTERS IN. *See* METHODISM: GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

We look up the reference, which is to the Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society. But alas for this entry:

CATHOLIC CHURCH: HISTORY. *See* ROME.

Page 18 gives us CATHOLIC CHURCH IN ENGLAND, page 25, CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

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